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The Earliest Books Printed in Spain

By LAURENCE WITTEN

IN this article typographic evidence will be presented to show that undated Valencian editions of Aristotle¹ and Phalaris,² traditionally ascribed to "1475-1477," cannot have been printed after 1474. This date is earlier than any so far established beyond question for any book printed in the Iberian Peninsula and, if the evidence is accepted, these two books would automatically henceforth share the honor of being the earliest books printed in Spain, were it not for claims to the same honor which can be advanced in favor of a book printed at Saragossa and a group of books which may have been printed at Segovia. Documentary and typographic evidence will be presented for believing that a Saragossan book,³ containing the same texts found in the

¹ K. Haebler, *Bibliografía Ibérica*, 2 vols., 1903 and 1917, no. 33 (both vols.) [referred to as: Haeb BI, etc.].

A. Lambert, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XII, 29-31 (1910) [Lam BH, etc.].

D. Reichling, *Appendices*, Supplementum II, no. 401, describing the Ludwig Rosenthal Antiquariat copy, now in the Hispanic Society of America Library.

F. Vindel, *El Arte tipográfico en España*, vol. III, no. 4 [Vindel III, etc.].

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, no. 2370 [GW, etc.].

M. B. Stillwell, *Second Census* (1940), A 882, the Hispanic Society—Rosenthal copy described by Reichling.

² Vindel III, 8; Haeb BI, vol. 2, 546(8).

³ Haeb BI, 34, both vols.

Lam BH, 31-34.

M. Pellechet, *Catalogue . . . des incunables*, no. 1254 (incomplete copy in B. N., Paris).

R. Proctor, *Index*, II, 700 (mention only).

J. C. T. Oates, *Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge* (1954), no. 4039 (complete but for the three blank leaves).

Copinger, *Supplement*, no. 627 (Cambridge copy).

Valencian Aristotle, was printed in 1473 or 1474. Finally, brief mention will be made of the group of books recently attributed to a press which may have begun operations in Segovia as early as 1472. In order to make these claims and counterclaims less bewildering, it will be necessary to recount the main known facts of the earliest printing in Spain.

The story of the introduction of printing into the Iberian Peninsula is perhaps more complex, or at least less well known, than in any other region which saw the production of a large number of books during the fifteenth century. The early books printed in Germany, Italy, France, the Low Countries, and England have been systematically examined by battalions of incunabulists, and even if obscurities still exist, a rather clear picture has in each case emerged—typographical evidence, printers' signatures and dates in colophons, archival documents, and rubricators' colophons have all served to elucidate the mysteries of early books. In each of the countries where the picture is now reasonably clear, the products of the earliest presses have survived in sufficient numbers and in accessible enough locations to promote the study of them.

However, in Iberian books the status of our knowledge is perhaps somewhat less complete. Most of the books are very rare, and copies of many of them have not been easily accessible in the fields tilled by the incunabulists. Despite the studies of Konrad Haebler, one of the great incunabulists, and in quite recent times Francisco Vindel, it is my belief that a very thorough examination of all the evidence available for the understanding of the earliest books printed in Spain has not yet been made. However, Haebler's compilation of the bulk of the material, Vindel's additional discoveries of books and their documentation in printed form with facsimiles, and some materials to be found scattered in other publications may now make such a study possible.

No Spanish book is known with a date earlier than 1475, but in that

M. Serrano y Sanz, *Revista Aragones*, 1914 (not seen, but according to the author reprinted with corrections in the following article).

M. Serrano y Sanz, *La Empronta de Zaragoza . . .*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*, Año xx, Tomo xxxv, 1917, pp. 243f. [Serr Em].

J. M. Sanchez, *Bibliografía Zaragozana del Siglo XV*, no. 3 (incomplete).

Vindel iv, 2.

GW 2371.

year dated books were produced in three Spanish towns. At Barcelona a Perottus, *Rudimenta grammatices*, was signed by the Germans Johannes de Salsburga and Paulus de Constantia on 14 December 1475. Three additional unsigned books in the same roman type belong to the press: a Sallust and a Florus each with the date 1475 and doubtless printed earlier in the year than the Perottus, and an undated Cicero, *In Catilinam*, whose position in the group is uncertain.⁴ Paulus de Constantia, one of the printers of the 1475 Perottus, has been certainly identified from documentary evidence as Paul Hurus; we shall shortly examine a printing contract he signed in October 1476 at Saragossa, where he subsequently employed part of his original Barcelona material. Although the existence of three books dated in 1475 may suggest initiation of the first Barcelona press during 1474, the history of early printing in that town presents no extremely difficult problems.⁵

On 15 October 1475 an edition of Guido de Monte Rochen, *Manipulus curatorum*, was signed at Saragossa by Matheus Flandr(us?) in a type which, like Matheus himself, makes no known subsequent appearance anywhere (Vindel iv, 1; Haebler BI, 452, etc.). This is the earliest Spanish book known with the printer's name, date, and place of production. However, the story of early printing in Saragossa is extremely complex, and we shall pass on to Valencia before examining it fully.

Valencia saw the production of the two earliest Spanish books with colophons supplying dates and place of printing, but neither has the printer's name. The earlier of these is the *Comprehensorium*, a remarkable Latin dictionary by a "Johannes grammaticus hispanus," completed on 23 February 1475.⁶ This earliest dated book printed in Spain is a large folio of 331 printed leaves in double columns. On 13 July of the same year a Sallust, *Opera*, was printed at Valencia in the

⁴ Vindel I, 3, 1, 2, 4 respectively. Cf. V. Scholderer in *The Library*, ser. 4, vol. 12 (1931), pp. 109-12.

⁵ The same press may also have produced an edition in Catalan translation of Valesius Tarentinus, *De epidemia et peste*, 1475 (Haeb BI, 664), of which no copy is now known to survive. An edition of Mates, *Pro condendis orationibus libellus*, signed by Johann Gherlinc at Barcelona with the obviously misprinted date 1468 (Haeb BI, 409), was no doubt printed in 1488, when Gherlinc is known from documentary evidence to have been working at Barcelona. Cf. A. Palau y Dulcet, *De los origines de la imprenta . . . en España* (1952), p. 9.

⁶ Vindel III, 2; Haeb BI, 339, etc.

same roman type.⁷ Only one other dated book in this type is known, a Thomas Aquinas, *Summa, Pars III*, signed by Lambert Palmart on 18 August 1477.⁸ This is the earliest fully signed and dated Valencian book. However, six additional books and a broadside printed in the same type, none of them with any colophon, are also known.⁹ One of these, the only vernacular book of the series, is a collection of poetical offerings made for a festival in honor of the Virgin, held at Valencia in the early part of 1474. The date 25 March 1474 appears in the first page of the text, and this book, the famous *Obres o trobes*, may well have been printed in 1474.¹⁰ It has usually been given first place in the series of Valencian books, and it has thus acquired the reputation of being the earliest book printed in Spain.

However, no one, apparently, has ever attentively investigated the undated books of the series, with the exception of the *Obres o trobes*, and I can find no published attempt to classify them. In recent months I possessed a copy of the 1477 Aquinas signed by Palmart, mentioned above, and have since acquired a copy of the longest and most important of the undated books in the type, the *Ethica, Oeconomica and Politica* of Aristotle in the Latin of Leonardo Bruni.¹¹ In the same shipment arrived another edition of precisely the same Aristotelian texts, assumed by most bibliographers¹² to have been printed at Saragossa. More recently still, I have been able to secure a copy of the Saragossan Parentinis of 16 June 1478.¹³ That this has been a remarkable experience is surely an understatement, since only one copy of one of these books has been previously recorded in this hemisphere. One is irresistibly drawn to them because of their real beauty and significance as documents in an interesting field, and I have joyfully succumbed to the temptation to study them: this article is the result of that very pleasant activity.

⁷ Vindel III, 3; Haeb BI, 593, etc.

⁸ Vindel III, 10; Haeb BI, 637, etc.

⁹ Vindel III, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12.

¹⁰ Vindel III, 1; Haeb BI, 488, etc.

¹¹ Vindel III, 4; see note 1.

¹² Vindel IV, 2; see note 2.

¹³ Vindel IV, 5; Haeb BI, 515, etc.

Valencia

A part of the story of the first Valencian press has become known through the survival of a series of documents detailing a litigation over a quantity of paper. These documents were partly printed in 1874 and completely by Serrano y Morales in 1899.¹⁴ Briefly, they record that Jacob Vizlant, Valencian representative of the German mercantile firm called the Hundpiss, ordered 200 reams of paper in large format from a Genoese merchant called Miquel Berniço in January of 1475. The contract specified that the paper was to be delivered in its entirety by the next ship sailing from Genoa or Savona to Valencia. Shortly before his death in July of 1475 Jacob Vizlant received sixty-four reams of the paper, and he refused to pay for them. By his will, he appointed his brother Felipe Vizlant his heir, and the paper was still unpaid for in January 1476 when litigation began between Felipe and Berniço. The rest of the paper had by this time been delivered, and Berniço demanded payment for all of it. Felipe claimed that the terms of the contract had not been satisfied and went on to say that non-delivery of the paper as specified had caused grave financial injury to his late brother, who had had to close a shop and lay off the masters and workmen employed in it. On 30 March 1476 judgment in the case was handed down: Felipe was instructed to pay for the sixty-four reams delivered in July of 1475 within four months of the judgment date, but was not required to take any more of the paper.

All writers are agreed that this litigation refers to a printing establishment at Valencia and that the shop in question can hardly be other than the Valencian press which produced the two dated books of 1475, the last on 13 July. No fully dated Valencian book was produced again until Lambert Palmart's signed Aquinas of August 1477, in the same type as the 1475 books; but at some unspecified date in the same year Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba signed an edition of Antoninus, *Defecerunt*,¹⁵ for which gothic type of two sizes was used. The same types are found in the famous *Biblia en Lemosin*,¹⁶ specifically printed for

¹⁴ J. E. Serrano y Morales, . . . *Diccionario de las Imprentas . . . en Valencia* (1898-99), pp. 594-607.

¹⁵ Vindel III, 11; Haeb BI, 19; GW 2109.

¹⁶ Vindel III, 9. Only a single copy of the colophon leaf of this famous lost book is known, preserved in the Hispanic Society Library, New York.

Felipe Vizlant by Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba and Lambert Palmart, called "Palomar" and "mestre en arts" in the colophon; the work was terminated in March of 1478, having been begun thirteen months earlier in February of 1477. Although the period between the cessation of operations in the summer of 1475 and their resumption is quite long, it seems to be well explained by the death of Jacob Vizlant, the dispute over the paper which was not settled until the end of March 1476, the laying off of the printers, and surely also the plague which ravaged Spain in 1475 and 1476. At any rate, the connection of the press with the Vizlants and the Hundpiss organization seems to be well established.

Who was the printer of the early period for Jacob Vizlant? Most writers have assigned the books in the early roman type of the press to Lambert Palmart, and he alone of course signed the only one of the series which carries any printer's name. Nevertheless, Vindel¹⁷ went to considerable lengths to claim the honor for his compatriot Alfonso Fernandez, and Vindel is the most recent writer on the subject. Despite Vindel's claims, Palmart still seems to me the most likely candidate. Claudin discovered that Palmart was received bachelor of arts at the Sorbonne in 1466,¹⁸ and we know he received the degree of master of arts, somewhere, from the colophon quoted above. There is a strong possibility that Palmart came in contact with the press established at the Sorbonne in 1470, if he had not already learned to print before reaching Paris. Since the early spread of the knowledge and practice of printing was so largely due to "German" masters, it is logical to suppose that Palmart was the man who brought printing to Valencia. Vindel seems to deny Palmart for three reasons: that his name appears after that of Fernandez in the *Biblia en Lemosin* colophon; that in the same place his name is transliterated to "Palomar"; and that a master of arts would have used printed signatures in his books, which Palmart is not known to have used until the Aquinas of 1477.

In my opinion all these reasons for denying Palmart are very weak. German printers very frequently transliterated, translated, or otherwise altered their names in Latin countries, particularly for vernacular books; it is by no means unusual for the name of the craftsman to fol-

¹⁷ Vindel III, preliminaries.

¹⁸ Haebler, *Tipografía Ibérica del Siglo XV*, p. 7 (of both Spanish and French texts).

low that of the local personage who was involved in an early book; finally, the earliest Parisian book with printed signatures is dated 5 April 1477 (Nider, *Manuale*, Hain 11844) as nearly as I can determine, and printed signatures were not in general use anywhere until about this time, although there are occasional earlier examples. Since absolutely no evidence of any kind is forthcoming to show where Fernandez de Cordoba may have learned to print by 1474 or 1475, since his name does not appear in connection with any of the early Valencian books in roman type, and since Vindel's arguments against Palmart are so unconvincing, I believe that Lambert Palmart is the best candidate for printer of the earliest Valencian books, and I shall use his name when speaking of them in this article.

In all, there are nine books and one broadside now known printed in the single roman type employed in the earliest Valencian books. The three dated books of 1475 and 1477, the undated Aristotle in my possession, and the *Obres o trobes* have already been mentioned. I have said that no effort has ever been made to classify the undated productions of the press in relation to its dated products, but Vindel's facsimiles from the whole series make comparisons possible, and I have been able to study my Aristotle, the Pierpont Morgan Library copy of the Johannes, *Comprehensorium*, and photographed pages of the Library of Congress copy of the 1475 Sallust. Additional copies of the Aristotle and the *Comprehensorium* are available in the Hispanic Society of America Library, and I am particularly grateful to all three of the institutions which have made their materials available. I have not personally examined any of the other, shorter Latin books, of which no American copies are reported, but copies of all four of these undated tracts (Vindel III, 5, 6, 7 and 8) are in the British Museum, and Dr. George D. Painter of the Department of Printed Books has examined them most carefully and has provided a detailed report on them. Dr. Painter has also read the whole of this article and made many valuable suggestions, for which I am deeply grateful. Omitted from this discussion of the Valencian books is the broadside, the only recorded copy of which is apparently defective and which received a poor facsimile in Vindel.¹⁹ Vindel's facsimiles are, however, essential to the understanding of this article.

¹⁹ Vindel III, 12.

It is immediately apparent from the Aristotle itself as from Vindel's facsimiles that in this work the type is either cast on a larger body or is more widely spaced by leading than in any other book of the series. Examination has disclosed some leads which have risen up in the form, have been inked, and have printed; therefore the type is leaded in the Aristotle and measures about 152 mm. for twenty lines, as against about 102 mm. in the other productions of the press. Somehow this peculiarity has not been specifically pointed out before, but it is by no means the only distinguishable difference in the books of the press.

The undated *Obres o trobes* and Leonardus Brunus (Vindel III, 1 and 5), the two dated books of 1475, and the 1477 Aquinas share an appearance rather markedly different from the remaining books of the series. All are rather more thoroughly punctuated, although there are variations in degree of punctuation, and all employ one important sort of type not to be found at all in the remaining books. This is a full stop of pronounced cross or "x" form, quite large and placed rather high above the line. This sort is very clearly distinguishable, even in the facsimiles, from a lighter version in use throughout, which is much smaller and falls lower, but which is also of a faintly distinguishable cross form. The large sort does not appear anywhere in the 259 printed leaves of the Aristotle, nor in the Aesop, Datus, and Phalaris. It may be very clearly seen in Vindel's two facsimiles of the *Obres o trobes* at the foot of the first page and after the word "DISPOSITIO" on the last page. It is also to be seen at the end of the colophon in the *Comprehensorium* (it appears elsewhere in the book occasionally), just before the colophon and at the end of the text in the Sallust, and at the end of the Brunus Aretinus.

Both the *Comprehensorium*, which we must remember is the earliest dated book of the series, and the undated Brunus Aretinus have guide letters in capital spaces, and these are visible on Vindel's facsimiles. The Sallust, however, although later than the *Comprehensorium*, does not have guide letters in its few capital spaces. None of the other books has guide letters.

One book stands apart from the others in the matter of punctuation: this is the Aristotle, which is utterly remarkable for the sparsity of punctuation throughout. One of the most striking features of the book

is the great rarity of any punctuation at the end of paragraphs and even major divisions of text. I can find only four indications of a paragraph stop in the first fifty leaves of the Aristotle, and they are hardly commoner anywhere in the book. Paragraph stops are a little more common in the Phalaris, Datus, and Aesop, particularly in the opening two quires of each of the first two of these. In the Aristotle the hyphen, which is in use throughout the series, is almost never used *as a hyphen* at line-endings until very near the end of the book, and it makes only one such appearance in the much shorter Phalaris. The sort is frequently used as a comma in the texts of all of the books of the press.

The press employed throughout a rather odd ligature abbreviation for the Latin ending “-is.” This is a diagonal stroke leaning to the right with a club hooked backward at the top. Early in the Aristotle it is introduced and used with considerable frequency for a few leaves; thenceforward in this book and in all the other books of the press its use is rare.

Still other differences are distinguishable, and perhaps the most important are the printer's difficulties with line-endings, page-widths, and tight locking up of the form in the Phalaris and the Aristotle, where the presswork is particularly poor. In the former tract there are many sagging lines and dropped letters, the line-endings are frequently irregular in the first two quires, and the width of the form varies considerably between 77 and 84 mm. In the Aristotle the lines of type wander in sprightly and irregular fashion about the page, dropped letters are a commonplace, the number of lines to a page varies considerably for no apparent reason, and there are small variations in the width (between approximately 108 and 111 mm.). There are a good many pages with uneven line-endings, and there are numbers of pages where the width is greater at top than bottom (and vice-versa), or with a bulge in the middle.

Examination of the watermarks found in the four undated British Museum tracts and the Aristotle tends to confirm the growing evidence of the typographical data cited above. The Aristotle and the Phalaris share a group of watermarks, chief among them three kinds of hand-and-star paper (6-ray, 5-ray, and peculiarly forked 4-ray). Paper with a large mark of apparently abstract design is employed at

the very end of the Aristotle, and this paper is used exclusively in the Leonardus Brunus and the Datus. The very brief Aesop makes exclusive use of paper with hand-and-star mark of the 5-ray variety.

It is worth noting that the *Comprehensorium* has a "modern" feature not found in the Aristotle, the only other early work of the press of considerable bulk. This is a *tabula chartarum* or table of beginning words of the sheets of which the book is made up, divided by gatherings and printed in five columns on the final page of the book, which contains no other matter. The employment of this utilitarian device for the *Comprehensorium* marks a distinct advance over the Aristotle, where a similar table could very easily have been provided in one of two places, depending on how one imagines the sections of the book were printed. In my copies of both the Valencian and Saragossan editions of the Aristotelian texts, the brief *Oeconomica* is placed between the two longer texts, the *Politica* being at the end, and I believe that this is the order in which both books were printed, despite *Gesamtkatalog*, Haebler, and Vindel. In any case, the *Oeconomica* closes with a blank page and the *Politica* with a blank leaf, and whichever fell last would have been suitable for the introduction of a *tabula chartarum*. The *Comprehensorium* of February 1475 has such a table, and the undated Aristotle does not.

With all of this evidence of distinct typographical differences and watermarks now exposed, it seems possible to suggest a reasonable order for the printing of the undated books of the first Valencian press. I think there can be little doubt in anyone's mind that the Aristotle and the Phalaris were the first two books printed by Lambert Palmart at Valencia. It does not seem easy to decide priority between the two, which share many markedly primitive characteristics, because their differences are not to my mind particularly suggestive of a clear order of precedence. Whereas the Phalaris has very uneven line-endings in the opening quires, irregular handling of the page width, and rather frequent full stops (the small sort) at paragraph endings in the beginning of the book, the Aristotle has much less punctuation and practically no paragraph stops, but perhaps proportionately fewer pages with uneven line-endings and better handling of the width of the type-page. The books share watermarks, sagging lines, and dropped letters. There is at least a fair possibility that the Aristotle

provided a *raison d'être* for the establishment of the press, as its wide leading and spacing of the type very likely indicate that it was designed to receive interlinear annotation and was directly commissioned for some school use unknown to us; indeed my copy of the book has been heavily annotated marginally and interlinearly by a contemporary owner who quotes extensively from the well-known commentary on Aristotle's *Ethica* by Geraldus Odonis. The Phalaris may have been run off during the work on the Aristotle since it is so much shorter, but this is conjecture.

The Aesop shares watermarks with the Aristotle and the Phalaris, but it is better printed, the line-endings being regular—as they are in all the remaining books. The Datus and the Brunus share a watermark found at the very end of the Aristotle *Politica*; the Datus has much freer use of the hyphen than in the previously mentioned books, and the Brunus has both a guide letter and the large full-stop sort. There remain the *Obres o trobes* without date, the two dated books of 1475 and the 1477 Aquinas, all of which have the large full-stop sort. It seems impossible to say exactly when the *Obres o trobes* was printed, but it is probably very close in time to the *Comprehensorium*, and the topical nature of the text makes it likely that it was printed as soon as possible after the actual festival in March of 1474. None of the evidence adduced here prohibits its having preceded the *Comprehensorium* or (consequently) the date of 1474 often assigned to it.

Now it does not seem possible that the *Comprehensorium*, finished on 23 February 1475, can have been initiated later than the final months of 1474. It is by far the most considerable early book of the press, and the first fifty-four days of 1475 simply do not seem sufficient for such a task at any early press. Therefore any earlier work of the press cannot have been completed after the latter part of 1474, at the very latest. Depending on the speed with which the printers worked (the only possible guide in this respect is the period of less than five months between the colophon dates of the *Comprehensorium* and the Sallust), the inception of the press can scarcely be later than earliest 1474 or late 1473. In view of the evidence presented the following order for the books of the press in roman type to 1477 is suggested (all references to Vindel III):

Earliest Group, not after 1474:

Aristotle (Vindel 4); Phalaris (Vindel 8).

Later Undated Books:

- a. Without full-stop sort: Aesop (Vindel 6); Datus (Vindel 7); ? Broadside *Bula* (Vindel 12).
- b. With full-stop sort: *Obres o trobes* (Vindel 1); Brunus (Vindel 5).

Early Dated Books without Signatures:

Johannes, *Comprehensorium* (Vindel 2), 23 February 1475.
Sallust (Vindel 3), 13 July 1475.

Final Book in Roman Type:

Aquinas (Vindel 10), 18 August 1477 (with signatures).

The evidence of typography, watermarks, and known dates in these books does not readily permit any other basic order for their chronological arrangement. The litigation of 1476 makes it clear that the printing office was closed down *before* Jacob Vizlant's death in July 1475. Since the Sallust was completed on the 13th of that same month, it is hardly possible that any other work was done by the press before the closing of the office. The earliest date which we know of for the resumption of operations is February of 1477 when work was begun on the *Biblia en Lemosin*, according to its colophon. It is certainly conceivable that one or more of the short tracts without date in the roman type which show comparatively advanced press work (particularly *Obres o trobes* and Brunus which have the large full-stop sort) may belong to the period of later activity of the office. It does not, however, seem possible at all to place the Aristotle and the Phalaris in any position but *before* the earliest dated book of the office. Unless it should subsequently be shown that they were printed by some entirely different office later in the century, which does not seem to me very likely, we may be sure that they were printed at Valencia by Lambert Palmart, not after 1474.

Saragossa

It is a peculiar circumstance that the Saragossan book under discussion is, like the Valencian book already assigned to 1474, an edition of

the *Ethica, Oeconomica & Politica* of Aristotle in the translations of Leonardo Bruni.²⁰ And yet this circumstance may be of considerable importance to the proposals I shall make concerning this book.

The Saragossan Aristotle, an extremely beautiful book like the Valencian edition, is the only work known printed in its fine roman letter modelled after the type Arnoldus de Bruxella had been using at Naples from 1472. However, the "tabula chartarum" at the end of the *Politica* (bound last in my copy as it is in my copy of the Valencian edition) is printed in a small gothic letter which Robert Proctor was the first to identify with the type of the Parentinis (Vindel iv, 5) completed at Saragossa on 16 June 1478, of which I also own a copy.²¹ Vindel, however, was able to show that lower case "d" in the two books differs, and he went on to claim that the Aristotle was not printed in Spain at all. In this opinion he opposed all other bibliographers. His case rested largely on the upper case "M" of the roman type, which is of unusual design, and the discrepancy he had noted in the gothic "d." However, it would be difficult at best to explain away the plain facts that the book is printed on paper associated with Spanish early books,²² that four of the six copies and fragments²³ reported by Gesamtkatalog are in Iberian libraries, that my own copy has come from Spain and is in its original Spanish binding, and that a copy I have seen of the *Ethica* alone also came from Spain and was in a Spanish contemporary binding. The traditional view of bibliographers concerning this Aristotle is that it was printed at Saragossa, by the printers

²⁰ Vindel iv, 2; see note 2.

²¹ All collations of this book so far printed seem to be both incorrect and misleading. It contains 102 leaves, none blank, quired as follows: (a) 6, (b) 10, (c-e) 8, (f. g-k. i) 10, 8, (m) 8. There are six leaves of table, an unnumbered leaf, xciii numbered leaves of text, plus a repeat of fol. xliiii, and another unnumbered leaf at the end. The repeated fol. xliiii is the last leaf of quire (h) and falls between ff. lx and lxi; the repeat was caused by omission of text, and contemporary notes, perhaps by the printers themselves, signal the error on fol. xliiii and the repeated fol. xliiii. Aside from this error the foliation is correct. Technically the book consists of 7 unnumbered leaves, (94) incorrectly numbered leaves, 1 unnumbered leaf.

²² There are at least seven distinct watermarks in this book: hand and 5-ray star (found in many early Spanish books including some of the Valencian books described above); three varieties of horned bull's skull(?); a candlestick; a gauntlet (very common in Spanish fifteenth-century books and manuscripts); and what is apparently a pump with S-shaped handle.

²³ The Cambridge University copy is complete (see note 2); the Bibliothèque Nationale copy lacks the *Ethica*.

of the Parentinis, probably just before the Parentinis, "about 1478."

However, none of the subsequent studies of early Spanish books takes full account of a series of very remarkable documents concerning early printing at Saragossa, published by Manuel Serrano y Sanz in 1914 and 1917.²⁴ In restudying the documents and Serrano's paper on them with the Aristotle and the Parentinis in my hands, I have come to follow Serrano in believing that the Aristotle is a very early book. I shall disagree with some details of his work (for instance, he claimed that the Valencian Aristotle was reprinted from the Saragossan, which cannot be) and add some circumstantial evidence of my own devising.

The earliest of these documents chronologically is a contract between "Anricus de Saxonia" (whom we know to be Heinrich Botel of Embich) and "Paulus de Constancia" (whom we know to be Paul Hurus), dated 22 October 1476. Both men are described as printers, and they agreed to terms for the production of the laws of Aragon on a sort of pre-publication subscription basis, the book to be completed within six months from the next All Saints' Day following the contract date. The next All Saints' Day was 1 November 1476, and the work was therefore to be completed by 1 May 1477. Although it has no colophon, we can be certain that this contract refers to the known *Fori Aragonum* (Vindel iv, 3), and doubtless it was completed in approximately the period specified. The contract has the form of a public announcement inviting subscription and does not imply termination of any agreement between the printers on completion of the book. The implication is that Botel and Hurus were to sell the finished work themselves, and it seems likely that Botel remained with Hurus long enough to run off another (much shorter) work, a *Vita et transitus Hieronymi* (Vindel iv, 4); this book is printed in the large gothic of the *Fori* and like the *Fori* has foliation in roman capitals of the type brought by Hurus from Barcelona. Production and sale of these books probably occupied the two printers until the latter part of 1477, although this is only a conjecture.

The next document we have to consider is an extraordinary one. It is a contract dated 14 January 1477 in one place and 14 January 1478 in

²⁴ Serr Em. *loc. cit.*; see also footnote 2.

another, but there can be little doubt that the latter date (1478) is intended, since the contract is extant in a volume of documents dating from 1478 by the notary Pedro la Lueza. It first sets forth the terms of an expired contract and then goes on to establish a new partnership. The earlier contract memorialized in this document is a partnership between Heinrich Botel of Embich, Georg vom Holtz of Hältingen or Höltingen, and Johann Planck of Halle, dated 5 January 1473; it named Botel, a master of the art of printing, as principal of the firm and it was to run for three years from the contract date. Botel was to exercise the art, provide instruction in it to the others, and to supply a room suitable to these requirements; vom Holtz and Planck were to provide money to the amount of "70 Rhenish gold pieces, or a little more." After repeating these terms of an original contract, now expired, the document goes on to say that vom Holtz has meantime died, styles Planck as well as Botel a master of printing, and states that these survivors, residents of Saragossa, are now partners. Serrano y Sanz was certain that the earlier contract of 1473 was made at Saragossa, not elsewhere, and he saw nothing odd in the specification of Rhenish money in an agreement between the three "Germans."

I agree with Serrano and think there is a good deal to support his claim. The 1478 contract is certainly Saragossan, drawn by the Saragossan notary Pedro la Lueza. For what conceivable reason could this Saragossan notary have been required in 1478 to memorialize a contract which had *automatically* expired more than two years before, unless that contract was *also* Saragossan and *still* had local significance because of some special circumstance? Surely the special circumstance is obvious: Georg vom Holtz died at Saragossa *during the course of* the 1473 contract period, and this event disrupted the business and may be assumed to have caused financial difficulties for the survivors. The memorialization of the expired 1473 contract in 1478 is really no more than a way of announcing that the deceased partner's interest has been liquidated to the satisfaction of his estate, that the survivors have no further obligation in the matter, and that they are free to work together again. The very unusual contract of 1478 does not, it seems to me, lend itself very readily to any other interpretation. What is certain is that Botel and Planck were in partnership from early 1473 un-

til early 1476 with the purpose of printing books. Early in 1478 it is announced that Planck is a "magister" having learned to print in the intervening five years, and he and Botel are back in business together for the printing of books. Let us still avoid those dark early years for a moment and proceed forward in time. Just five months after the renewal of the contract between Botel and Planck the Parentinis (Vindel iv, 5) was printed at Saragossa in a gothic letter which is only found, with at least one variant and for a few words only, in one other book—the Aristotle. All writers have agreed that Botel and Planck printed the Parentinis, and five months is an entirely reasonable period for its production, if one allows for the preparation of the type as well as for the printing of the book. But the period would in no case have been sufficient for the production of the roman letter for the large Aristotle, the printing of that book, and the preparation and printing of the Parentinis.

Now we must ask next whether the Aristotle was printed after the Parentinis. If it was, it was definitely an anachronistic book. Very many of the earliest Spanish books, up to about 1477 or 1478, appeared in roman type, and then there was a wholesale swing to gothic. But there is better evidence than this for being sure that the Aristotle was not printed by Botel and Planck after the Parentinis. Botel, we know, printed the *Breviarium ilderdense* at Lerida,²⁵ dated 16 August 1479. This is a very long quarto of 450 leaves, and it is printed in two entirely new types. I do not believe it would have been possible for Botel, starting with his contract of 14 January 1478, to print the Parentinis, the Aristotle, and the Breviary, all in different types, during a space of nineteen months, especially when these books run to nearly 900 printed leaves and the period included a move to Lerida. It is simply not credible. The Aristotle must have been printed before the contract of January 1478, if Botel and Planck had anything to do with it at all, and the typographical connection of this book with the Parentinis makes this a near certainty. Everything points to an earlier date for the Aristotle than for the Parentinis, as has been generally assumed.

Now let us review the knowledge provided by the various contracts and prepare a timetable of events based on that knowledge:

²⁵ Haeb BI, 84.

- 1473, 5 Jan. Contract for three years between Botel, vom Holtz, and Planck for the printing of books. No book is known which can be assigned to this partnership unless it is the Saragossan Aristotle.
- 1476, 5 Jan. The contract expired automatically, so far as we know.
- 1476, 22 Oct. Botel and Paul Hurus (who had come from Barcelona) announced forthcoming publication of the *Fori Aragonum* and invited pre-publication orders.
- 1477, 1 May Term announced for printing the *Fori* expired, and presumably the book was produced on schedule. A *Vita et transitus Hieronymi* was printed in the types employed for the *Fori*.
- 1478, 14 Jan. Botel and Planck memorialized the contract of 1473, announced that they were again in partnership for printing books. Planck was now a "Magister," and vom Holtz had died between 5 Jan. 1473 and this date.
- 1478, 16 June The Parentinis was completed at Saragossa, presumably by Botel and Planck.
- 1479, 16 Aug. The *Breviarium ilderdense*, a very long quarto in two entirely new types, was completed at Lerida by Heinrich Botel.

Finally, it is time to amass the information gleaned from the documents, the timetable of events, and the books themselves, mixing well with deductions and a certain amount of circumstantial evidence drawn from other sources. All of this evidence, I believe, points to the printing of the Aristotle at some time near the beginning of the 1473 contract period, not at any later date.

1. What did Heinrich Botel, Georg vom Holtz, and Johann Planck do from Jan. 1473 onward, if they did not produce a book? Botel was already a "magister dictae artis," and the others provided a sum of money presumably sufficient for the production of some unspecified work.
2. The Saragossan Aristotle has all the signs of an early Spanish book. It is printed in roman letter, like most of the earliest Spanish books; it has no signatures or foliation; it has no colophon; and the paper employed is consistent with that used in the earliest Spanish books. My copy is in a Spanish half binding which gives every appearance of belonging to the

early 1470's. Many pages of the book have uneven line-endings, and changes in the width of the form employed occur, another indication of its primitive character.

3. The agreement of 1473 called for the instruction of vom Holtz and Planck in the art of printing. In January of 1478 Planck is styled a "magister" in this art. If he did not help in the printing of the Aristotle, what in fact did he print and where did he learn?
4. It is reasonable to assume a very serious disruption in the work of the Botel-Holtz-Planck office. We know that vom Holtz died, although we don't know when. Very likely his death disrupted the partnership, and it was probably necessary to divide the assets of the office. It seems likely that vom Holtz died in the plague which debilitated Spain in 1475 and 1476,²⁶ and it also seems reasonable to assign the Aristotle to the earlier part of the known contract period, rather than the latter part. It would not have required very many months to prepare the type and print off the sheets of the book, even with limited and inexperienced personnel. If the early date of the Aristotle is accepted at all, it most likely belongs to the latter part of 1473 or the early part of 1474.
5. There was clearly a strong demand for this text in 15th-century Spain. I have had a Spanish manuscript of the *Ethica* in the Bruni translation, a fragment of a Spanish manuscript of the *Oeconomica*, and the two printed editions. On 26 June 1481 Nicolaus Spindeler, the chief printer at Barcelona, bought fifty copies each of the three Aristotelian texts, plus three extras of the *Ethica*.²⁷ There can be no doubt that these were copies, doubtless a remainder and real distress merchandise by this time, of the Saragossan edition. This assumption is made certain by the fact that Spindeler himself printed editions of all three texts *directly* from the Saragossan edition (Gesamtkatalog 2372, 2433, 2446). Order of text and punctuation are the same as in the Saragossan edition throughout, and unlike any other edition. The Gesamtkatalog entries should probably be amended to show that all three were printed about the same time (they are all in the same types) and very likely after Spindeler's purchase, although this is an assumption.
6. The Valencian and Saragossan editions of Aristotle are entirely independent. Order of some matter is different in the two editions, and in the Saragos-

²⁶ Hispanic Society of America, *A History* (1954), p. 410. Specifically it is noted that "from April of 1475 to March of 1476, the plague raged in Valencia."

²⁷ Haeb BI, 34 (vol. 2).

san edition Bruni's preface to the *Politica* is entirely lacking. Punctuation, abbreviation, orthography, and occasional variant readings make the independence of the two editions a certainty.

7. Since we know that the Valencian edition was completed in 1474 at the latest, it is really very unlikely that another printer should produce an independent edition, *less complete*, just a few miles away, just a few years later ("about 1478," as the bibliographers say). It is very much more likely that the two editions were approximately simultaneous, that both were designed to fulfill a demand for the texts, and that neither printer had any idea that the other was at work on these texts. It is also clear that the Valencian printing office had mercantile backing while the Saragossan was entirely the venture of a small partnership with limited financing. I am sure that the Saragossan printing office encountered great embarrassment from the production of a text produced simultaneously a few miles away in a better version; the remaindering of the edition in 1481 really proves the point. However, by this time Spindeler was clever enough to recognize a need for the Aristotelian texts in Barcelona. His purchase of about fifty copies of each text proved insufficient to the demand and he had to reprint his remainder purchase himself. It is not surprising in this instance that he reprinted from the text at hand, although it was inferior.
8. An early date for the Aristotle satisfactorily explains both its connection with the Parentinis and the disappearance of the roman type. In 1473 or 1474 it would have been logical to print such a humanistic text in roman letter, but the introduction of roman in 1477 or 1478 would have been a serious blunder. The use of the few words of gothic, surely a newly designed type, in the final table of the Aristotle clearly indicates that a shift to gothic type was planned by the press. But vom Holtz died suddenly before any further projects could be carried out, and besides, there is sound documentary evidence for believing the Aristotle to have been a financial disaster. Very likely the useless roman type was allotted to the estate of vom Holtz, while the surviving partners managed to keep the punches for the new gothic. By the time they were ready to print again early in 1478, it was for some reason necessary or desirable to provide a new lower case "d," and in fact they had *two* new sorts of "d" plus a third with an abbreviation sign, as I have discovered from my copy of the Parentinis.
9. Finally, there may be a relationship between this early printing office and the single signed and dated Saragossan book of the early period, the *Manipulus curatorum* printed by Matheus on 15 Oct. 1475. I have said

that the type in which it was printed never appeared again, despite Haebler's curious confusion of it with the type used by Spindeler at Tortosa,²⁸ and Matheus also disappears. From his appellation "Flandrus" or "Flander" he was a native of the Low Countries. It is interesting to consider this in light of the connection of the type of the Aristotle with that of Arnoldus de Bruxella. It seems to me a reasonable conjecture that both Botel and Matheus had been connected with Arnoldus' shop in Naples and that Botel had brought Matheus to Saragossa as a workman. When the Botel-Holtz-Planck office collapsed, a workman like Matheus might have found the backing to produce a book which ruined him, or he may also have died in the plague after finishing his only solo effort.

Much of what has been said about the Saragossan Aristotle is of course conjecture, although it is based on documentary evidence, and the final paragraph about Matheus and his *Manipulus* is purely conjectural. But surely it is striking that we have these Saragossan books, with so many different types, printed by so many different hands, and all printed within a short span of years no matter how they are arranged.

Saragossa seems to have been arid ground for the early printers, and the seeds they planted were slow to bear fruit. The early contract of 1473 cannot be explained away, when such an obvious candidate for its product as the Aristotle is at hand. The timetable of Botel's activities would not easily permit the production of the Aristotle just prior to the Parentinis, nor after it, and the mass of the evidence seems to point to a much earlier date. The *Manipulus curatorum* appeared some thirty-three months after the original contract of January 1473, and there is every reason to suppose that the Aristotle was produced long before that time. For all of these reasons I think the Aristotle was the first book printed at Saragossa, and it is, like the Valencian edition of the same texts, one of my candidates for the earliest printed Spanish book. I wish I could stop here, but conscience dictates that I pass on to another Spanish town which very possibly gave birth to books at a still earlier date.

Segovia

The group of books perhaps printed at Segovia from 1472 was quite

²⁸ Haeb BI, 452 (vol. 1).

unknown to me until mentioned by Miss Clara Louisa Penney of the Hispanic Society of America in correspondence about that institution's copy of the Valencia Aristotle. In this crisis Dr. Painter came to the rescue and provided much of the information on which the following paragraphs are based.

The story of early Segovian printing begins with Juan Arias Davila, bishop of Segovia, who presided at a synod at Aguilafuente from 1 to 10 June 1472.²⁹ According to Diego de Colmenares, the historian of Segovia, Davila ordered that copies of the proceedings of the synod be placed in the hands of the clergy within six months of the close of the synod, and Colmenares says that such copies were printed at Segovia immediately.³⁰ No book at all can be proved to have been printed at Segovia during the fifteenth century, and such a "ghost reference" would not be of very great interest were it not for the fact that an apparently unique copy of a printed *Synodal de Segovia*, intimately associated with Juan Arias Davila himself, survives today,³¹ and the story does not end here.

The *Synodal* has no printer's colophon and is printed in a rather archaic-looking roman type with an admixture of gothic sorts C, E, I, and g, the last being rather occasionally supplanted by a rounded roman g. Five other books, all of them extremely rare, printed in the same roman type in nearly the same state, are also known;³² in these the mentioned gothic sorts have disappeared, as far as can be seen from the facsimiles, and all bear some version of the printer's signature, "Magister Johann Parix de Heydelberga," but supply no place or date of printing. All six books in this group are quite roughly printed.³³

With the sole exception of the Diaz de Montalvo, a copy of every

²⁹ Hispanic Society of America, *A History* (1954), p. 409.

³⁰ *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, tomo 2 (1922), p. 309.

³¹ Vindel VIII, 1; C. Valverde del Barrio, *Catalogo de incunables . . . de la santa iglesia catedral de Segovia* (1930), no. 446 [Valverde, etc.].

³² Diaz de Montalvo, *Glossae ordinamenti de Briviesca et Alcala* (GW 8292); *Expositiones nominum legalium* (GW 9519; Valverde, 204); Johannes de Milis, *Reperitorium iuris* (Valverde, 321); Ludovicus Pontanus, *Singularia* (Valverde, 366); Pedro de Osma, *Commentaria in symbolum Quicumque vult* (Valverde, 335; Stillwell, *Second Census*, O 103).

³³ A. Lambert, *Jean Parix imprimeur en Espagne . . .*, in *Annales du Midi*, année 43 (1931), pp. 376-91, with facsimiles from all of the books of the group except the Diaz de Montalvo.

single one of these books is among the small collection of only sixteen incunabula in the private library of Bishop Juan Arias Davila, now preserved in the Cathedral Library at Segovia.³⁴ At the least it must be counted remarkable that the *Synodal* and four of the five signed books should have belonged to the very man who Colmenares implies was responsible for having a *Synodal* printed in 1472.

Johann Parix is first found, from documentary evidence only, in partnership with Henricus Turner at Toulouse at some time before the latter's death in mid-1477.³⁵ He later printed books at Toulouse, and some of them are printed in another state of the roman type of the *Synodal*. The Toulouse books are headed by a very rare Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, of which Dr. Painter has seen a recently discovered copy in Sion College Library, London.³⁶ In this and the other Toulouse books is found a complete set of gothic capitals (C, E, and I are different from the sorts of the *Synodal*) freely mixed with the upper and lower case roman. In the Toulouse books the presswork is much better than in the other group, and there are fewer contractions.³⁷

There is still another piece of printing which may have been produced at Segovia at an early date. This is an indulgence in aid of the war against the Turks, issued by Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia (afterward Pope Alexander VI), probably at a meeting of the Cortes held early in 1473 at Segovia to discuss the war.³⁸ The type is a narrow gothic in which Haebler found a resemblance to a type employed by Arnold ther Hoernen at Cologne.

It must be acknowledged that the evidence is at present insufficient to prove that either the group of six books in roman type, partly signed by Johann Parix and including the *Synodal de Segovia*, or the gothic letter indulgence was in fact printed at Segovia beginning in 1472 or thereabouts. All of these productions of unidentified presses might have been produced at quite another location later in the century. There is no evidence of any kind to show that Parix was definitely at

³⁴ The Valverde citations *all* refer to books from Davila's library.

³⁵ British Museum, *Catalogue of XVth Century Books*, part VIII, p. lxxi [BMC VIII, etc.].

³⁶ Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. V (1864), col. 1367/8; Copinger, *Supplement*, no. 6386.

³⁷ Cf. also BMC VIII, p. 354.

³⁸ Vindel VIII, 3; GW 894/10.

Segovia (or anywhere else, for that matter) before 1477; there is no evidence of any kind to show where or when the Borgia indulgence was printed. And yet the group of six Parix books including the *Synodal* has an undeniably early appearance, and it can hardly be a coincidence that five of these six, which barely exist elsewhere, are in Juan Arias Davila's own library. A very detailed study of the entire group might lend additional support to the already considerable circumstantial evidence for attributing them to a Segovian press operated by Johann Parix from 1472 until he moved to Toulouse before mid-1477.

In this article some of the traditional theories and some new ones about the earliest books printed in Spain have been examined. Two Valencian books have been unequivocally assigned a date not later than 1474, and the reasons for believing a Saragossan book to have been printed in 1473 or 1474 have been set forth at length. Having gone thus far in studying books in his possession the writer felt justified in congratulating himself on having so neatly disposed of the Hydra of early Spanish printing, only to find a new head in the form of Segovia sprouting on what he had taken for a corpse. Will this particular creature of myth and mystery in the future spontaneously sprout, or docilely submit to the grafting of, additional claimants for honors in the area of earliest Spanish printing, especially under the skilled ministrations of modern bibliographical husbandry? Such an occurrence would not be wholly remarkable in a field which thus far has not, perhaps, been sufficiently explored.

The Colonial Parish Library of Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer

By JOHN WARWICK MONTGOMERY

Historical Background

WILHELM Christoph Berkenmeyer (1686-1751) has been described as "the most influential spirit among the Lutherans of colonial New York" (Wentz, p. 10).¹ When this learned clergyman arrived in New York in 1725, "He brought with him a library for [his] congregation, bought with funds which he had collected, which would be beyond the capacity not only of the most of the congregations, but even most of the pastors of the present day" (Jacobs, p. 122). According to Gräbner (p. 170), the collection was "eine Kirchenbibliothek von 20 Bänden in Folio, 50 Quart-, 23 Octav- und 6 Duodezbanden, . . . unter denen sich Werke wie Calovs *Biblia Illustrata*, Baldvins *Commentar zu den paulinischen Briefen*, Dedekenns *Consilia*, Hülsemann *de auxiliis gratiae* und Brochmands *Systema* befanden, Bücher, deren Charakter uns schon erkennen lässt, wie die Theologie des Mannes geartet war, der sie ausgewählt hatte" (cf. Hart, pp. 13, 15, 153, 225-26, 336, 339-40). Berkenmeyer may well have brought with him even more than these 101 volumes, for Evjen (p. 137) has shown that by the time of his death his congregational library at Loonenburg (now Athens), New York, contained at least 367 volumes, not including his private book collection.

The whereabouts of this historically important church library was in doubt for many years. Writing in 1893, Jacobs asserted (*loc. cit.*) that "the remnants of this library are said to be in Wittenberg College, Springfield, O." In 1902, Grace Prince, librarian at Wittenberg, ventured the following opinion: "The fact that a good edition of Baldwin's *Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles*, bearing the date of 1664 and printed at Frankfort,² is in the library would indicate that Dr. Jacobs' statement may be correct and perhaps the remnants of Mr. Berken-

¹ See list at end of this section for complete data on the works here cited.

² Entry number 16. This is the only volume in Gräbner's above-quoted list which may still be found at Wittenberg.

meyer's library of ninety-nine volumes [*sic*; based on Jacobs' misreading of Gräbner] have at last found a permanent home" (p. 258). Not until 1925, however, was it definitely shown that about sixty per cent of the above-mentioned 367 books in Berkenmeyer's church library had become part of the Wittenberg College library. Dr. John O. Evjen made the discovery as a result of his knowledge of Berkenmeyer's handwriting, and then went on to isolate the collection by observing three unique series of ownership marks on the books. It thereupon became evident that the Berkenmeyer collection had provided much of the original core of the Wittenberg College library. Indeed, in the first annual faculty report to the Board of Directors (1 September 1846), Ezra Keller, Wittenberg's first president, had referred to what was actually the Berkenmeyer library: "The College Library has now 354 volumes. The thanks of the Board are due to the donors of these books, especially to Rev. T. Lape of New York, and congregation [here we have the Berkenmeyer donation], who sent us 295 volumes and Brother Lape himself eleven volumes, together with 56 copies of his excellent Manual on Baptism, to be sold for the benefit of the Institution" (Board Minutes, vol. 1; quoted in Lentz, pp. 44-45).

During the years from 1925 to the present, the Berkenmeyer library was again dispersed among Wittenberg's general book collection. The effects of heat and dampness in the Zimmerman library building necessitated the discarding of a number of old volumes which had become unreadable—and presumably some Berkenmeyer items were among these. With the construction of the new chapel-library, the entire college book collection was moved from Zimmerman to its present location. The importance and intrinsic interest of the Berkenmeyer library led me early in the 1957-58 academic year to retrieve the collection once again, and to give it its first bibliographic description. Evjen provided only a partial and frequently inaccurate list of the authors represented in the collection. The books have never been classified or catalogued by the library. By familiarizing myself with the script of Berkenmeyer and of his later successor at Loonenburg, the Rev. J. C. Leps; by studying the ownership marks employed in the collection; and by utilizing the first volume of the earliest surviving Accession Record of the Wittenberg library, I have been able to isolate all the Berkenmeyer items which remain at Wittenberg. The to-

tal number of physical volumes is 226, but these are not precisely identical with the "about 225" volumes which Evjen found in 1925. Evjen missed a number of books, and during the last thirty years all trace of some Berkenmeyer volumes has disappeared. Separate bibliographical items in the collection now number 434 (Evjen stated that his 225 or so physical volumes contained "about 450" separate publications).

The significance of Wittenberg's Berkenmeyer library can hardly be overestimated. It is true that Berkenmeyer's private book collection never came to the college, but Evjen has shown that the books which did arrive were collected for the Loonenburg church library during Berkenmeyer's lifetime and were personally used by him. In his will Berkenmeyer refers to these books as "my whole stock" and bequeaths them "in Trust only, for the use of the succeeding minister at Loonenburgh and his successors" (quoted in Evjen, p. 139). Thus we have at Wittenberg a sizable portion of one of the most important colonial parish libraries, and a lasting record of the *Weltanschauung* of its pastor. The poor physical condition of a number of the volumes should not obscure the intrinsic value of the 434 works in the collection. Here one finds books on geographical, scientific, philosophical, and literary matters; pamphlets and periodicals recording the theological controversies of the time; sermons delivered by prominent pastors and theologians; and bibliographic, exegetical, and dogmatic publications of permanent value. The mere fact that many of the items in this collection of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century books cannot be found in the British Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books* indicates the potential wealth of material now made available through the present bibliographical description.

A Selected List of Works Containing Information on Berkenmeyer or His Library

"Berkenmeyer, Wm. C." *Lutheran Cyclopedia*. Ed. by Erwin L. Lueker. St. Louis, Concordia, [1954]. Pp. 105-06.

Evjen, John O. "The Berkenmeyer Library." *The Lutheran Quarterly*, LV, 132-47 (April 1925).

Genzmer, George H. "Berkenmeyer, Wilhelm Christoph." *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York, Scribner, 1928-45. II, 218-19 (includes bibliography).

Gräbner, A. L. *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in America*. Th. 1. St. Louis, Concordia, 1892. See index under Berkenmeyer.

Hart, Simon and Kreider, H. J., trs. and eds. *Protocol of the Lutheran Church in New*

York City, 1702-1750. New York, The Synod [i.e., The United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England], 1958. See index under Berkenmeyer.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster. *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*. (The American Church History Series, vol. 4). New York, Christian Literature Co., [1893]. Pp. 117, 121-29, 177, 250, 310, 523.

Lentz, Harold H. *A History of Wittenberg College (1845-1945)*. [Springfield, Ohio], Wittenberg Press, 1946. P. 45.

Prince, Grace. "Zimmerman Library, Wittenberg College." *Sketches of Ohio Libraries*. Ed. by C. B. Galbreath. Columbus, Fred. J. Heer, State Printer, 1902. Pp. 258-59.

Wentz, Abdel Ross. *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America*. Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, [1955]. Pp. 9-10, 26, 27.

Wolf, Edmund Jacob. *The Lutherans in America*. New York, J. A. Hill; Rostock (Germany), E. Volckmann, [1889]. Pp. 179, 209, 217, 219, 229, 253f., 287f.

The Nature of the Bibliographical Description

The bibliographical entries to follow are arranged not by subject, but by "main entry" only, i.e., by author (personal or corporate), or, if authorship has not been readily ascertainable, by title. In the case of a work of joint authorship, the name of the first author listed on the title page is used for the main entry. Where a pseudonymous publication is involved, entry is made under the author's real name (if definitely known), or under the pseudonym (if identification is problematical). When initials are employed on the title page of a book to conceal the author's identity, and the author's name remains in question, entry has been made under title. Library catalogues are entered under the name of the personal or corporate owner of the library. Cross-references from variant forms of a name have not been given, since these can be obtained in standard biographical sources. Hebrew or Greek words in titles have been disregarded in filing. Alphabetization is word by word, then letter by letter, rather than by the reverse procedure.

A bibliographical citation can have as many as seven parts, and these will normally be given in the following order: entry number; author statement (personal authors are given with death date and reference to a standard biographical source if such information has been obtainable without undue effort; the spelling of personal names follows the biographical source employed, if one has been used); title (spelling as on title page; punctuation and capitalization often modernized; frequently only the first few significant words of the title are given—not necessarily a complete sentence or idea); edition or volume state-

ment; imprint (place name as on title page; publisher [or printer if no publisher given] generally in vernacular or Latin nominative case form, with first and middle names sometimes reduced to initials or omitted;³ date in arabic numerals); pagination or total number of volumes (pagination does not ordinarily include unpagged material except in the case of short, completely unpagged works; in the latter instance the total number of pages is given within square brackets); miscellaneous notes. When brackets appear in the author, title, edition or volume statement, or imprint, they indicate that the data within them were not obtained from the title page of the work being described.

*Symbols for Biographical and Bibliographical Reference Works
Employed Below in Verifying Data*

- AdB *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Leipzig, Duncker, 1875-1912. 56 vols.
- D *Dansk biografisk Leksikon*. Ed. by C. F. Bricka. København, Schultz, 1933-44. 26 vols.
- G Georgi, Gottlieb. *Allgemeines europäisches Bücher-Lexikon*. Leipzig, Georgi, 1742-58. 5 pts. and 3 suppl.
- H Heinsius, Wilhelm. *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon*, 1700-1892. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1812-94. 19 vols.
- H-B Holzmann, M., and Bohatta, H. *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon*, 1501-1910. Weimar, Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, 1902-28. 7 vols.
- H-B (pseu) Holzmann, M., and Bohatta, H. *Deutsches Pseudonymen-Lexikon*. Wien, Akad. Verlag, 1906.
- J Jöcher, C. G. *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*. Leipzig, Gleditsch, 1750-51. 4 vols.
- Js Jöcher, C. G. *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon. Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen*. Ed. by J. C. Adelung, et al. Leipzig (vols. 1-2, 7), Delmenhorst (vol. 3), Bremen (vols. 4-6), 1784-1897. 7 vols.
- L *Lutheran Cyclopaedia*. Ed. by Erwin L. Lueker. St. Louis, Concordia, [1954].
- N *Nouvelle biographie générale*. Ed. by Hoefer. Paris, Firmin Didot, 1853-66. 46 vols.

My thanks to the University of Rochester for permitting me to use D, H-B,

³ Publishers' or printers' widows are not indicated in the bibliographical citations. Thus, for example, "J. Meyers witwe" appears simply as "Meyer."

H-B (pseu), and J there; to the Ohio State University for giving me access to their copies of D, G, H, H-B, and H-B (pseu); and to the University of Chicago for making J and Js available to me.

Main Entry Listing of the Berkenmeyer Collection at Wittenberg College

1. Acker, Johann Heinrich, d. 1719 (AdB). Trauer-Blätter. [Altenburg?, To. Richt.?, 1710?]. 78 pp. T.-p. mutilated; data from G.
2. Acta historico-ecclesiastica, oder gesammlete Nachrichten von den neuesten Kirchen-Geschichten. 1-[-6.] Th. Weimar, S. H. Hoffmann, 1735-38. 972, 156 pp. Includes the separately paged Anhang to this Bd. 1. Th. 1-2, 3. ed. (1737-38); Th. 3, 2. ed. (1736); Th. 4-6 (1735-36); Anhang (1736).
3. Acta historico-ecclesiastica, oder gesammlete Nachrichten von den neuesten Kirchen-Geschichten. 7.[-11.] Th. Weimar, S. H. Hoffmann, 1737-38. 862 pp.
4. Acta historico-ecclesiastica, oder gesammlete Nachrichten von den neuesten Kirchen-Geschichten. 19.[-24.] Th. Weimar, S. H. Hoffmann, 1740. 1161 pp. Includes the whole of Bd. 4, with Anhang.
5. Acta historico-ecclesiastica, oder gesammlete Nachrichten von den neuesten Kirchen-Geschichten. 28.[-30.] Th. Weimar, S. H. Hoffmann, 1741. 467-962 pp. T.-p. of Th. 28 missing; first leaf of Th. 28 badly mutilated.
6. Acta historico-ecclesiastica, oder gesammlete Nachrichten von den neuesten Kirchen-Geschichten. 31.[-36.] Th. Weimar, S. H. Hoffmann, 1742-44. 1100 pp. Includes the whole of Bd. 6, with Anhang. Th. 31-32, 2. ed. (1744, 1743); Th. 33-36 (1742-43); Anhang (1743).
7. Ammersbach, Heinrich, d. 1691 (AdB), ed. Der heilige kluge und gelehrte Teuffel. Halberstadt, 1675. 223 pp.
8. Amyraldus (Amyraut), Moses, d. 1664 (J). Von Religionen . . . aus dem Frantzösischen übersetzt durch Adrian Stegern. Leipzig, Johann Grosse, 1667. 934 pp.
9. Arndt, Johann, d. 1621 (L). Vorrede über die teutsche Theologia; gedruckt zu Halberstadt durch Georg Kotten/anno 1597. 2. ed. 1660. 16 pp.
10. Auserlesene theologische Bibliothec. 37.[-48.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Braun, 1729-30. 1194 pp. This comprises Bd. 4.
11. Auserlesene theologische Bibliothec. 55.[-60.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Braun, 1731-32. 571-1098 pp. The unpagged indexes at the back cover the whole of Bd. 5.
12. Avenarius, Johann, d. 1739 (AdB). Epistolischer Christen-Schmuck. Arnstadt, Ernst Ludwig Niedt, 1722. 3 vols. in 1.

13. Baier, Johann Wilhelm, d. 1695 (L). *Compendium theologiae moralis*. Jenae, E. C. Bailliar, 1697. 572 pp.
14. Baier, Johann Wilhelm, d. 1695 (L). [*Compendium theologiae positivae*]. [3. ed.]. [1693]. 1047 pp. Most annotated volume in the collection.
15. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Brevis institutio ministrorum verbi*. Wittebergae, Müller & Helwig, 1623. 308 pp.
16. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Commentarius in omnes epistolas beati Apostoli Pauli. Index Balduinianus generalis . . . autore Johanne Oleario* [Johannes Olearius, d. 1684 (AdB, J)]. *Frankofurti ad Moenum*, B. C. Wust, 1664. 1652, 510 pp. Cf. 299.
17. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *De communione sub utraq; specie disputatio Martini Becani* [Martin Becanus, d. 1624 (AdB)]. Wittebergae, Paul Helwich, 1610. 332 pp.
18. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Diatribae theologiae de Antichristo*. 2. ed. Wittebergae, Paul Helwich, 1615. 292 pp.
19. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L), praes. *Disputatio ordinaria, de verbis testamenti Jesu Christi*. Wittebergae, Joh. Gorman, 1609. [30] pp.
20. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Epistola apologetica . . . in qua respondetur ad epistolam Martini Becani* [Martin Becanus, d. 1624 (AdB)]. Wittebergae, Johann Gormann, 1610. 110 pp.
21. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Idea dispositionum biblicarum*. Wittebergae, J. W. Fincel, 1666. 331 pp.
22. [Balduin, Friedrich], d. 1627 (L). [*Passionis typicae liber unus*]. [Wittebergae, Selfisch & Helvvig, 1614?]. 512 pp. T.-p. missing; data from G.
23. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Passionis typicae liber alter*. Wittebergae, Selfisch & Helvvig, 1616. 551 pp.
- 24, 24a. Balduin, Friedrich, d. 1627 (L). *Solida refutatio catechismi Ariani, qui Rackoviae in Polonia anno 1608. excusus*. Wittebergae, Paul Helwig, 1620. 549 pp. Originally published in German; here translated into Latin. 2 cop.
25. Bartholinus, Caspar, d. 1629 (J). *De studio theologico*. Hafniae, Henricus Waldkirch, 1628. [44] pp.
26. Baxter, Richard, d. 1691 (L). *Nun oder niemahls*. Lübeck und Franckfurt, Otto und Wiedemeyer, 1688. 358 pp. Tr. from the English.
27. [Bentheim, Heinrich Ludolf], d. 1723 (AdB). [*Neu-vermehrter Engelländischer Kirchen- und Schulen-Staat*]. [Bremen, Sauerm., 1732.]. 1288 pp. T.-p. missing; data from J and G.
28. Berckenmeier, Paul Ludolph, fl. 1720 (J). *Vermehrter curieuser antiquarius*.

5. ed. Hamburg, Schiller und Kissner, 1720. 936 pp. Pp. 29-44, 651-52 badly mutilated.
29. Berger, Theodor, d. 1773 (AdB). *Die durchlauchtige Welt*. 3. ed. Hamburg, Johann Christoph Kissner, 1730. 976 pp.
30. Besold, Christoph, d. 1638 (AdB). *Christlich und erhebliche Motiven*. Ingolstadt, Gregory Hänlin, 1639. 253 pp.
31. Betke, Joachim, d. 1663 (AdB). *Mensio Christianismi et ministerii Germaniae, das ist: geistliche Abmessung des heuttägigen Christenthumbs*. 1648. 184 pp.
32. Bibliander (Buchmann), Theodor, d. 1564 (AdB). *Deliciae ebraeo-homileticae, das ist: Ergetzlichkeiten der ebräischen Sprache*. Th. 1. Dressden und Leipzig, J. C. Mieth, 1705-06. 1322 pp. Editorial work by Kaspar Neumann, d. 1715 (L), and Johann David Schwertner, d. 1711 (AdB).
33. Bleu, Jacobus le, d. 1668 (J). *Tractatus de instructione futuri consiliarii*. Gissae, J. D. Hampel, 1652. 352 pp.
34. Blumberg, Christian Gotthelf, d. 1735 (J). *Rhat der Meissheit*. Chemnitz, Conrad Stössel, 1707. 204 (i.e., 304) pp. Tr. from the French (only in part?).
35. Bödiker, Johann, d. 1695 (AdB). *Grund-Sätze der teutschen Sprache*. Berlin, C. G. Nicolai, 1723. 400 pp.
- 36, 36a. Bohse (Talander), August, d. 1740 (AdB). *Die lebenden Todten*. Leipzig, J. L. Gleditsch, 1705. 738 (i.e., 538) pp. Pp. 368-538 contain material from Philip Picinelli's [b. 1604 (N)] "*Mundus symbolicus: oder die in mannichfaltigen Sinn-Bildern vorgestellte Welt*." 2 cop. The 36a copy lacks t.-p., and is a different printing from (but apparently the same edition as) the 36 copy; its final page is correctly numbered 538.
37. Bostel, Lucas von, d. 1716 (AdB). *Catalogus librorum . . . in aedibus . . . domini Lucae à Bostel*. Hamburgi, literis Königianis, 1724. 286, 31 pp.
38. Botsack, Johann, d. 1674 (AdB). *Fürbild der heilsamen Worte vom Glauben und der Liebe in Christo Jesu*. Dantzig, Christian Mansklapp, 1676. 736 pp. Ed. by Nathanael Dilger, d. 1679 (AdB).
39. Breckling, Friedrich, d. 1711 (AdB). *Excidium . . . darin dem Thier dieser vierten Monarchi*. 1661. 24 pp.
40. Broitzem, Bruno von. *Decas concionum poenitential: das ist: zehen christliche Buss Predigten*. Zell, Elias Holwein, 1637. 214 pp.
41. Buddeus, Johann Franz, d. 1729 (AdB). *Bedencken über die wolffianische Philosophie mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Christian Wolff* [Wolff, d. 1754 (L)]. Franckfurt am Mayn, Andreäischen Buchhandlung, 1724. 136, [12] pp.

42. Burchard, Georg Heinrich, d. 1701 (J). *Christliche gründliche Anmerckungen*. Hamburg, Gottfried Schultz, 1674. 240 pp.
43. Calov, Abraham, d. 1686 (L). *Paedia theologica*. Wittebergae, Andrea Hartmann, 1652. 392 pp.
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46. Carpzov, Johann Benedikt, the elder, d. 1657 (J). *Hodegeticum*. Lipsiae, Tobias Riesen, 1656. 62 pp.
47. Carpzov, Johann Benedikt, the younger, d. 1699 (J). *Auserlesene Tugend-Sprüche*. Leipzig, Johann Grosse, 1717. 1232 pp.
48. Carpzov, Johann Benedikt, the younger, d. 1699 (J). *Ausserlesene Trost und Leichen-Sprüche*. 7. und letzter Th. *Leichenpredigt von Gottlob Friedrich Seligmann* [d. 1707 (J)]. Leipzig, Friedrich Lanckisch, 1700. 988 pp. Latin funeral orations for Carpzov included at end.
49. Carpzov, Johann Benedikt, the younger, d. 1699 (J), and Rappolt, Friedrich, d. 1676 (AdB). [*Commentatio in epist. Joannis de charitate & veritate* (by Carpzov); *Scripta theologica & exegetica* (by Rappolt)]. Lipsiae, haeredes Lanckisianorum, 1693. 2 vols. in 1. T.-p. partially missing; data from J and G. Indexes missing.
50. Carpzov, Samuel Benedikt, d. 1707 (AdB). *Der* (1.) *eligirte und ausgelesene* (2.) *vocirte und ausgeschickte* (3.) *ordinirte und ausgerüstete Jeremias*. Dresden, Melchior Bergen [1674?]. 204 pp.
51. [Cellarius, Christoph], d. 1707 (AdB). [*Curae posteriores de*] *barbarismis et idiotismis sermonis latini*. 5. ed. Jenae, J. F. Bielcke, 1718. 432 pp. T.-p. and first prefatory leaf mutilated; verified in G.
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53. Cellarius, Christoph, d. 1707 (AdB). *Discussio Appendicis Danicae ad Curas suas posteriores*. 2. ed. Jenae, Bielcke, [1695]. 72 pp. Contains material by Andreas Borrichius (see pp. 13, 16). Date verified in G.
54. Cellarius, Christopher, d. 1707 (AdB). *De latinitate mediae et infimae aetatis liber, sive antibarbarus*. 5. ed. Jenae, J. F. Bielcke, 1723. 268 pp.
55. *Christliche und notwendige Verantwortung der Prediger zu Rostock auff M. Nathanis Chytraei* [Nathan Chytraeus, d. 1598 (AdB)] *gedruckte Glaubens Bekentnis*. Gryphisswaldt, Augustin Ferber, 1593. Unpaged. Cf. 57.

56. Der christliche Vermahner zum heiligen Leben. Hamburg, Thomas von Miering, 1723. 166 pp.
57. Chytraeus, Nathan, d. 1598 (AdB). Christliche und richtige Glaubens Bekenntnuss. 1593. [15] pp. Cf. 55.
58. Clauberg, Johann, d. 1665 (AdB). Logica vetus & nova. 2. ed. Amstelædami, Elzevier, 1658. 463 pp.
59. Colbe, Georg, d. 1670 (AdB). Abscheulicher Missbrauch der Beicht und Communion . . . Nun wiederum der Gemeine in Altona zum Besten zum Druck befördert . . . allerunterthänigst übergeben von Daniel Sass. Altona, Christian Reymer, 1711. 140 pp.
60. Colberg, Ehregott Daniel, d. 1698 (AdB). Das Platonisch-hermetisches Christenthum. Franckfurt(h) und Leipzig, M. G. Weidmann, 1690-91. 2 vols. in 1.
61. Colerus, Johann Christoph, d. 1736 (AdB). Historia Gothofredi Arnoldi [Gottfried Arnold, d. 1714 (AdB)]. Vitembergæ, Theophil Ludovicus, 1718. xlviii, 301 pp. The Prolegomena consist of a "Dissertatio critica de corruptoribus historiae ecclesiasticae."
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65. Copia. Eines Send-Briefes/An Se. königl. Maj. von Preussen/ Betreffend der Juden und Christen Bekehrung. 1704. 16 pp.
66. Creide, Hartmann, d. 1656 (AdB). Postilla epistolica. Das ist: schriftmässige Erklärung aller sontäglichen Episteln. Franckfurt am Mayn, Johann Beyer, 1649. 3 vols. in 1. Vols. 1 & 2 are 2. ed. T.-p. of vol. 3 varies slightly from those of vols. 1 & 2.
67. Cyprian, Ernst Salomon, d. 1745 (L). Abgetrungenener Unterricht von kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten . . . mit historischen Original-Documenten. 2. ed. Franckfurth und Leipzig, M. G. Weidmann, 1726. 2 vols. in 1. Vol. 2 entitled "Documenta und Nachrichten."
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69. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). Apologia pro Tractatu de sylogismo infinito. 2. ed. Argentorati, Josias Stadel, 1654. 34 pp.

70. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Collegium psychologicum*. 4. ed. Argentorati, Josias Staedel, 1660. 220 pp.
71. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Decas diatribarum logicarum in sex syllogas distributa*. 4. ed. Francofurti, C. J. Klein, 1653. 123 pp.
72. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Elementa dialectica ex Commentario logico . . . Dannhaweri . . . ad discentium faciliorem captum formata à Johanne Henrico Rapp*. Argentorati, Josias Staedel, 1667. 84 pp.
73. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Epitome dialectica*. 4. ed. Argentorati, Josias Staedel, 1663. 200, 39 pp.
74. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Hodomoria spiritus papaei, duodecim phantasmatis*. Argentorati, Friedrich Spoor, 1653. 1476 pp.
75. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Idea boni interpretis et malitiosi calumniatoris*. 5. ed. Argentorati, Josias Staedel, 1670. 266 pp.
76. Dannhauer, Johann Konrad, d. 1666 (AdB). *Tractatus de syllogismo, ut vulgò dicitur, infinito*. Argentorati, W. C. Glaser, 1630. 22 pp.
77. *Deutsche acta eruditorum*. 117.[-120.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1726. 589-886 pp.
78. *Deutsche acta eruditorum*. 145.[-156.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1729-30. 904 pp.
79. *Deutsche acta eruditorum*. 162.[-168.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1731-32. 381-906 pp. The Registers at back cover Th. 157-168.
80. *Deutsche acta eruditorum*. 205.[-216.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1736-37. 889 pp.
81. Deyling, Salomo, d. 1755 (AdB). *Christliche und moralische reflexiones über die Passions-Historie*. Leipzig, Friedrich Lanckisch, 1724. 104 pp.
82. Diecmann, Johann, d. 1720 (AdB). *Catalogus bibliothecae Johannis Diecmanni*. Breae, H. C. Janus, 1721. 484 pp.
83. Dippel, Johann Konrad [Democritus, Christianus, pseud.], d. 1734 (AdB). *Ein Hirt und eine heerde*. Amsterdam, Henrich Betkuis, 1706. 100 pp.
84. Döring, Paul, d. 1727 (Js). *Wohlgemeynte Buss-Vermahnungen*. Dresden, Zimmermann und Gerlach, 1720. 400 pp.
85. Donatus, Johann Jacob. *Der muhsame, darbey erbauliche Catecheta*. Dresden, J. C. Zimmermann, 1716. 967 pp.
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 91. Eckard, Melchior Sylvester, d. 1650 (J). *Pastor conscientiosus*. Ulmae, Balth. Kühn, 1668. 332 pp.
 92. Eckard, Melchior Sylvester, d. 1650 (J). *SS. theologiae studiosus, hoc est: fidelia monita*. Ulmae, Balth. Kühn, 1668. 12, 245 pp.
 93. Edzardus, Esdras Heinrich, d. 1733 (N). *Abgedrungette Vertheidigung wider den ströhernen Goliath in Holland*. 1720. 85 pp.
 94. Edzardus, Sebastian, d. 1736 (AdB). *Erwekung der Motiven und Promessen, mit welchen die Reformirten zu B. eine Lutheris. Kirche an sich zu ziehen trachten*. 1707. 142 pp.
 95. Edzardus, Sebastian, d. 1736 (AdB). *Der Geist des Irrthums*. [Hamburg?], 1711. 80 pp. At the end is an unpagged "Kurtze Abfertigung D. Jo. Franc. Buddei [Buddeus, d. 1729 (AdB)], und seines Licht-scheuenden Vor-Fechters des falschgenannten Friedrich Gottwalts."
 96. Edzardus, Sebastian, d. 1736 (AdB). *Mataeologia Romelingiana*. [Hamburg?], 1711. 126 pp.
 97. Edzardus, Sebastian, d. 1736 (AdB). *Widerlegung der abscheulichen und höchstärgerlichen Sacramentschänderey*. 1707. 109 pp.
 98. Elswich, Johann Hermann von, d. 1721 (AdB). *De reliquiis papatus ecclesiae Lutheranae temere affectis commentatio*. Hamburgi, J. W. Fickweiler, 1721. 398 pp.
 99. Engelschall, Karl Gottfried, d. 1738 (AdB). *Derer praejudiciorum vitae*. Th. 2. Leipzig, August Martin, 1724. 1299 pp.
 100. Engelschall, Karl Gottfried, d. 1738 (AdB). *Das doppelte Ubel der Sünder*. Dresden und Leipzig, J. C. Mieth, 1712. 55 pp.
 101. Engelschall, Karl Gottfried, d. 1738 (AdB). *Die heuchlerische Frömmigkeit des Volckes Israel*. Dresden und Leipzig, J. C. Mieth, 1712. 64 pp.
 102. [Erasmus, Desiderius], d. 1536. [Apophthegmata, ac lepide dicta, principum,

- philosophorum, ac diversi generis hominum, ex Graecis pariter ac Latinis scriptoribus selecta, cum interpretatione commoda, dicti argutiam aperiente]. 926 pp. The work includes 8 books. T.-p. missing. On authorship identification, see MS. notes on p. 1, and the British Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books*.
103. Ermisch, Christian Ludwig, d. 1722 (Js). Quadragena, das ist: xl. einfältige/doch schriftmässige Quatember-Sermones . . . Die erste Abtheilung/Bestehend in xx. Quatember-Sermonen. Braunschweig, C. F. Zilliger, 1692. 557 pp.
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 105. Erörterung dreyer Fragen/zum ersten Ob Christus die völlige Macht gehabt habe den Menschen die Sünde zu vergeben? 1705. 71 pp.
 106. Espagne, Jean d', d. 1659 (N). Gemeine Irthümer . . . übersetzt von Adrian Stegern. Leipzig, Johann Grosse, 1667. 249 pp.
 107. Extract zweyer Schreiben/ den Begriff und das Bekenntnis der lutherischen Kirche. 1721. 32 pp.
 108. Faber, Zachaeus, the elder, d. after 1607 (J). 100. Unwarheiten. Welche die Calvinisten begehen an der H. Schrift. Wittemberg, Johann Crafft, 1598. 391 pp.
 109. [Fecht, Johannes], d. 1716 (AdB). [Historia & examen novae theologiae indifferentisticae]. [Rostochii, Russw., 1721]. xxiv, 476 pp. T.-p. missing; verified in G and H. The last four (unpaged) leaves of Index iv. are mistakenly bound after prefatory pages xviii and xxii.
 110. Feinler, Gottfried, d. 1704 (J). Biblische Schau-Bühne bekehrter Sünder; d.i. auserlesene Buss-Exempel. Leipzig, Friedr. Lanckisch, 1704. 387 pp.
 111. [Feurborn, Justus], d. 1656 (J), praes. [Disputatio theologica prima, de dicto Joh. 16. v. 7.8.9.10.11]. [Gissae Hessorum, J. D. Hampel, 1651]. 48 pp. T.-p. missing. This work and 112 may have been published under a common t.-p.
 112. Feurborn, Justus, d. 1656 (J), praes. Disputatio theologica secunda, de dicto Joh. 16. v. 7.8.9.10.11. Gissae Hessorum, J. D. Hampel, 1651. 48 pp.
 113. Feurborn, Justus, d. 1656 (J), praes. Succincta epitome errorum calvinianorum. Giessae Hessorum, typis Chemlinianis, 1651. 209 pp.
 114. Finck, Kaspar, d. 1631 (AdB). Giessischer auserlesener Leichpredigten. Giesen, Nicolaus Hampel, 1613 (vol. 1); Marburg, Nicolaus Hampel, 1625 (vol. 2). 2 vols. in 1.
 115. Forster, Johann, the younger, d. 1613 (J), praes. Exercitationum theologi-

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116. Forster, Johann, the younger, d. 1613 (J). Hohe Festtagsschreinlein/in welchem auff ein jedes hohes Fest fünfferley zu finden. Wittenberg, Clement Berger, 1628. 730 pp.
 117. Forster, Johann, the younger, d. 1613 (J). Nervosae, elegantes ac singulariter methodicae homiliae seu dispositiones concionum . . . nunc secundò . . . in lucem editae, curâ M. Johannis Seubothii. Noribergae, Simon Halbmayer, 1631. 795 pp.
 118. Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen . . . u.d.g. Ertheilet von einigen Dienern des göttlichen Wortes. Auf das Jahr 1721. Leipzig, Joh. Friedr. Braun. 1126 pp.
 119. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1722. 1130 pp.
 120. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1723. 1118 pp.
 121. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auff das Jahr 1725. 95-346 pp. Includes part of the "Erster Beytrag. Neues" (Section 15 to end), and all of the "Zweyter Beytrag." T.-p. of 1st Beytrag, and general t.-p., missing.
 122. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1727. 340 pp.
 123. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1729. 1318 pp.
 124. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1731. 1066 pp.
 125. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1732. 1052 pp.
 126. Fortgesetzte Sammlung . . . auf das Jahr 1735. 844 pp.
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389. Taylor, Jeremy, d. 1667 (L). Christliche Lebens-Kunst. Zürich, J. R. Rahnen, 1681. 467 pp. Tr. from the English.
390. Taylor, Jeremy, d. 1667 (L). Christliche Sterb-Kunst. Zürich, J. R. Rahnen, 1682. 412 pp. Tr. from the English.
391. Textor, Conrad. Kahle und nichtige Entschuldigungen der Verächter dess hochheil. Abendmahls. Franckfurt am Mäyn, J. P. Andreas, 1688. 91 pp.
392. Thomasius, Christian, d. 1728 (AdB). Bedencken über die Frage: Wieweit ein Prediger gegen seinen Landes-Herrn/welcher zugleich Summus Episcopus mit ist/sich des Binde-Schlüssels bedienen könne? 3. ed. Wolfenbüttel, Freytag, 1707. 191 pp.
393. Thomasius, Christian, d. 1728 (AdB). Thummheit/Aus dem andern Theil seiner Gemischten Händel . . . In einem Gespräche vorgestellt von Johann Niclas Saltzmann. 1724. 46 pp.

394. Trublet [Nicholas Charles Joseph], d. 1770 (N). Pensées choisies sur l'incrédulité, a cause de leur justesse separement publiées par G. G. G. [Gabriel Wilhelm Goetten, d. 1781 (AdB)]. [Zelle, J. A. Deetz], 1737. 26 pp. Appeared originally as part of *Essais sur divers suiets de literature et de morale* (Paris, 1735).
395. Uhlich, Johann Elias, d. 1722 (AdB). Allernöthigste Beicht-Fragen. Wittenberg, C. G. Ludwig, 1714. 64 pp.
396. Umständliche Nachricht dessen, was sich mit einem Evangelisch-Lutherischen Prediger in Ost-Friessland begeben. Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1728. 724 pp. The Addenda at the back unpagged.
397. Unterricht von der Kinder-Zucht. Leipzig und Stendal, E. H. Campe(n), 1710. 336 pp.
398. Varenius, Henricus, d. 1635 (J). Brevis consideratio Admonitionis Georgii Rostii super controversiis de Vero B. Arndi Christianismo. Luneburgae, J. & H. Stern, 1626. 121 pp. See 349.
399. Varenius, Henricus, d. 1635 (J). Christliche/schrifftmässige/wolgegrundete Rettunge der vier Bücher vom Wahren Christenthumb. Luneburg, Johann und Heinrich Stern, 1624. 2 vols. in 1. T.-p. of vol. 2 varies from that of vol. 1.
400. Vereius, Johann. De superbia pietistica ad Michaelis [Christian] Rusmeyeri [Rusmeier, d. 1745 (AdB)] exercitationem academicam de Praejudiciis reformationem ecclesiasticam sufflaminantibus. 1724. 16 pp. Cf. 375.
401. Virginius, Andreas, d. 1664 (AdB), praes. Manipulus disputationum theologicarum. Dorpati Livonorum, Jacobus Pistorius, 1635. 400 pp. Various respondents took part in these 19 disputations.
402. Volder, Burchard de, d. 1709 (J). Disputationes philosophicae omnes contra Atheos. Medioburgi, Johannes Lateranus, 1685. 59 pp.
403. Die vornehmsten Europaeischen Reisen . . . Welchen auch beygefüget/LVI. [i.e., LVII.] accurate Post- und Boten-Charthen . . . Die vi. Ausfertigung. Hamburg, J. C. Kissner, 1724. 456, 528 pp.
404. Die wahre Erfüllung des Spruchs/in Apoc. 12, 12 . . . in Oligier Pauli . . . [N.p., n.d.] 64 pp. Cf. 311.
405. Walch, Johann Georg, d. 1775 (L), ed. Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten. [1. Th.]. [Jena, Meyer, 1730]. 1024 pp. T.-p. and 2nd leaf of dedication mutilated. Imprint and vol. no. from University of Chicago copy.
406. Walch, Johann Georg, d. 1775 (L), ed. Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten. [1. Th.]. 3. ed. Jena, Johann Meyer, 1733. 743 pp. Vol. no. from University of Chicago copy.

407. Walch, Johann Georg, d. 1775 (L), ed. Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten. [2. Th.]. [Jena, Meyer, 1734]. 1148 pp. T.-p. mutilated; imprint and vol. no. from University of Chicago copy.
408. Walch, Johann Georg, d. 1775 (L), ed. Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten. 3. Th. Jena, Johann Mayer, 1734. 1126 pp.
409. [Walch, Johann Georg], d. 1775 (L), ed. [Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten]. [5. und letzter Th.]. [Jena, Meyer, 1739]. 1374 pp. T.-p. missing; imprint from University of Chicago catalogue card for the book.
410. [Wandal, Hans], d. 1710 (D). [*ὑποτύπωσις* sanorum verborum seu brevis expositio theologiae in thesi et antithesi]. [1703]. 373 pp. T.-p. missing; see MS. note on the recto of the first blank leaf; title verified in G and H.
411. Warhafftiger/glaubwürdiger und gründlicher Bericht von den vier Büchern vom Wahren Christenthumb Herrn Johannis Arndten. Lüneburg, Johan und Heinrich Stern, 1625. 136 pp.
412. Wedderkop, Magnus von, d. 1721 (AdB). Bibliotheca Wedderkoppiana, sive catalogus selectissimorum librorum . . . quos . . . collegit . . . Dn. Magnus à Wedderkop. Hamburgi, J. N. Gennagel, 1722. 734 pp.
413. Weickhmann, Joachim, d. 1736 (J). Theologischer und ausführlicher Unterricht von der Pestilenz. 2. ed. Zerbst, Samuel Tietz(e), 1711. 526 pp.
414. Weisbach, Christian, d. 1715 (J). Warhaffte und gründliche Cur aller dem menschlichen Leibe zustoffenden Kranckheiten. 4. ed. Strassburg, Johann Reinhold Dulssecker, 1722. 82, 569 pp.
415. Weise, Christian, d. 1708 (AdB). Neu-erleuterter politischer Redner. Leipzig, Sabina Gerdesin, 1684. 720 pp.
416. Weller, Jakob, d. 1664 (L). Fasciculus viventium Brunsvicensis, Braunschweigisches Bündlein der Lebendigen. Braunschweig, Müller und Duncker, 1649. 856 pp.
417. Werenfels, Samuel, d. 1740 (AdB). Predigten über einige Haupt-Lehren der Christlichen Religion. Basel, J. L. Brandmüller, 1717. 432 pp. Tr. from the French.
418. Wichmann, Peter. Kurtze und deutliche Erklärung des 9ten Capitels der Epistel S. Pauli an die Römer. Hamburg, J. C. Kissner, 1723. 280 pp.
419. Wilcke, Christopher. Der mürdige Communicant. Berlin auffm Friedrichswerder, Gotthart Schlechtiger, 1705. 222 pp.
420. Winckler, Johann, d. 1705 (AdB). Das christliche Wohlverhalten der Gläu-

- bigen in göttlicher Schickung. Hamburg, Gottfried Liebernickel, [1699?] 166 pp.
421. Winckler, Johann, d. 1705 (AdB). Eine kurtze Erklärung der schwersten Versiculn des ix. Capitels der Epistel St. Pauli an die Römer. Hamburg, Gottfried Liebernickel, 1702. 127 pp.
422. Winckler, Johann, d. 1705 (AdB). Gründliche Anweisung auss dem Evangelio Matth. xxi. v.1-9. Hamburg, Gottfried Liebernickel, 1695. 144 pp.
423. Winckler, Johann, d. 1705 (AdB). Heilsame Bewegungs-Gründe/ Sich von den Lüsten dieser Welt. Hamburg, Gottfried Liebernickel, 1702. 208 pp.
424. Winckler, Johann, d. 1705 (AdB). Neu-Jahrs Segen. Hamburg, Gottfried Liebernickel, 1705. 72 pp.
425. Winckler, Johann, d. 1705 (AdB). Vertheidigung seines gründlichen Beweises der Kinder-Tauffe. Hamburg, Gottfried Liebernickel, 1696. 480 pp.
426. Winckler, Johann Friedrich, d. 1738 (AdB). Kurtzer Begriff seiner im Jahr 1733. geführten Lehr-Art von dem Sieg der Glaubigen über die Hindernisse des Christenthums. Hamburg, J. M. Saalikath. Unpaged.
427. Winckler [Johann Joseph], d. 1722 (AdB; H-B). Arcanum regium, das ist ein königlich Beheimniss. [2. ed.]. Franckfurt a.M., 1703. [12] pp. The work originated with Johann Welmer, d. 1704.
428. Wohlgegründete und oft probirte Vortheile zur lateinischen Sprache. Hrsg. von dem Verfasser des zweyten Bandes der Acerra Philologica. Halle, Rengerischen Buchhandlung, 1722. 295 pp. For possible author identifications, see H-B under "Acer(r)a."
429. Wolf, Johann Christoph, d. 1739 (AdB). Absurdahallensia, oder Die irrigen und ungereimten Meynungen. [Flenssburg?], 1707. 190 plus pp. Incomplete.
430. [Zeltner, Gustav Georg], d. 1738 (J). [Salome Christo affine: hoc est Synopsis logomachiarum vel pietisticarum] . . . Accessere ad calcem Christophori Forstneri . . . De dissidiis theologorum epistolae. Francofurti et Lipsiae, Tauber, 1726. 412, 38 plus pp. T.-p. mutilated; all after p. 38 of Forstner's work missing; data supplied by G. Published under the pseudonym George August Pachomius; for author identification, see H-B (pseu).
431. Zeumer, Johann Caspar. Exemplarischer teutscher Schulmeister. Jena, Johann Bielcke, 1701. 107 pp. J has the hanging reference: Zürner (Caspar), see Zeuner.
432. Zorn, Peter, d. 1746 (J). Opuscula sacra. T. 1. Francofurti ad Moenum & Lipsiae, Autor, 1723. 822 pp. Cf. 202, 203.
433. Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande, Veränderung und

- Wachsthum der Wissenschaften. 13. [-16.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1741. 306 pp. T.-p.'s missing for vols. 13 and 16; pp. 1-2 of vol. 13 missing.
434. Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande, Veränderung und Wachsthum der Wissenschaften. 37. [-48.] Th. Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1743. 889 pp. T.-p. and pp. 1-4 of vol. 37 missing.

Copyright and Andrew Law

By IRVING LOWENS

WHEN the Connecticut singing master Andrew Law expressed the hope, in the prefatory remarks to his *Rudiments of Music* (Cheshire, Conn.: William Law, 1783), that his "labours in this production" would be secured to him by law, a vigorous movement to confirm copyright by positive statute was already well under way in the United States. The first state copyright law had been passed by Connecticut on 8 January 1783,¹ and by the time the tune book appeared in December of the same year, Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, and New Hampshire (in the order named) had enacted similar legislation. Within the next three years, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and New York followed.² Only Delaware passed no copy-

¹ There is some resemblance between this Connecticut statute and an act passed by the Connecticut General Assembly in Oct. 1781, giving Law a five-year exclusive "Patent for imprinting and vending" forty-two tunes and nine anthems. This has seemingly escaped the notice of copyright historians. Karl Fenning, "Copyright Before the Constitution," *Journal of the Patent Office Society*, xvii, 379-85 (May 1935), an authoritative paper, makes no mention of Law.

Another resemblance which appears to be more than coincidental is that between Law's petition of 15 Oct. 1783, to the General Assembly requesting the patent and Noah Webster's memorials of 24 Oct. 1782 (also to the General Assembly) and 18 Jan. 1783 (to the New York State Legislature), both reprinted in Harry R. Warfel, ed., *Letters of Noah Webster* (New York: Library Publishers, 1953), pp. 1-3, 5-7. It is not at all unlikely that Webster had something to do with the drafting of Law's petition. The two men were apparently close personal friends; Law is frequently mentioned in Webster's diary. It is even conceivable that it was Law who interested Webster in copyright matters in the first place.

I should here like to express my thanks to Dr. Warfel (and also to Webster's indefatigable bibliographer, Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter of the California Historical Society) for courteous and detailed answers to inquiries about Webster's association with Law.

² Perhaps the most important single cause of the flood of State copyright laws was a resolution, passed by Congress in May 1783, recommending the "several States to secure to the Authors or Publishers of New Books the Copyright of such Books." Another friend of Law's, Joel Barlow, probably brought this about through a letter he wrote to Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress, on 10 Jan. 1783, in which he enclosed a copy of the two-day-old Connecticut copyright statute and urged that "as we have few Gentlemen of fortune sufficient to enable them to spend a whole life in study, or induce others to do it by their patronage, it is more necessary, in this country than in any other, that the rights of authors should be secured by law. In England your Excellency is sensible that the copy-right of any book or pamphlet is holden by the Author & his assigns for the term of fourteen years from the time of its publication; & if he is then alive, for fourteen years longer. If the passing of statutes similar to this were recommended by Congress to

right law, and it was getting ready to do so when the Federal Act of 1790 made State statutes unnecessary.

In the light of Law's previous bitter experiences with pirates,³ it seems odd that he took no advantage of the legislation enacted by his own State, but there is no extant record of any registration made by him under the Connecticut Act.⁴ Perhaps he considered the exclusive patent he had obtained in October 1781, from the General Assembly for forty-two tunes and nine anthems sufficient protection at home.

However, he and his friend Noah Webster were the first individuals to register works under the Massachusetts Act of 17 March 1783. Law's *Collection of Hymn Tunes* (Cheshire, 1783) and Webster's *Grammatical Institute, Part 1* (Hartford, 1783) were both received by James Winthrop, Harvard's librarian, on 6 December 1783. The *Rudiments* was receipted for four days later. The Massachusetts statute was unique in that it provided that "every author of such book, treatise, or other literary work, shall, in order to his holding such sole property in them, present two printed copies of each and every of them to the library of the University at Cambridge, for the use of the said University."⁵ The other states merely required registration of the title. It is rather remarkable that of the eleven works deposited at Harvard of which there is record, no less than five were music imprints.⁶

the several States, the measure would be undoubtedly adopted, & the consequences which would be extensively happy upon the spirit of the nation, by giving a laudable direction to that enterprizing ardor of genius which is natural to our stage of society, & for which the Americans are remarkable. Indeed we are not to expect to see any works of considerable magnitude, (which must always be works of time & labor) offered to the Public till such security be given." The original of the Barlow letter is preserved in the General Records of the U. S. Government, Papers of the Continental Congress, Item 78, vol. IV (National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

³ His *Select Number of Plain Tunes Adapted to Congregational Worship* (n.p., n.d.) of 1777 and the 1779 edition of his *Select Harmony* (n.p., n.d.) had both been fair game for literary pirates. The full story is told in my "Andrew Law and the Pirates," a contribution to an as yet unpublished and untitled *Festschrift* honoring Dr. Otto Kinkeldey.

⁴ Information from a letter to the author dated 7 Aug. 1957, from the State Librarian of Connecticut, Robert C. Sale. According to Mr. Sale, there were only three registrations under the 1783 Act, by Robert Ross, Joel Barlow, and William Blodget. Titles and other particulars may be found in the files of the Connecticut General Assembly, *Connecticut Archives*, Manuscript (Colleges and Schools, 1661-1789), Series 1, volume II, Documents 154-55, 159-61, 165-68.

⁵ *Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1783), p. 236.

⁶ The other music items deposited were William Billings' *Suffolk Harmony* (Boston, 1786) on 20 June 1786, Jacob French's *New American Melody* (Boston, 1789) on 25

The Maryland Act of 21 April 1783, was utilized only four times, and Law's *Select Harmony* was one of the works registered. However, the circumstances surrounding the Maryland situation make it appear unlikely that Law himself registered the title. The record of the four entries made under the Act is located on the same page of a ledger of Provincial Court Deeds, entered consecutively, and each bears the identical date, 7 January 1786. The first entry lists four works by Noah Webster, "A Grammatical Institute of the English Language in three parts," "An abridgement of the first part of the same work," "A critical Grammar of the English Language," and "Letters critical and practical on the English Language," the second, Timothy Dwight's "The Conquest of Canaan, a Poem in nine Books," the third, two works by Joel Barlow, "The Vision of Columbus—a Poem in nine Books" and "A Translation of sundry Psalms, omitted in Doctor Watts version, to which is added a number of new Hymns," and the fourth, Law's "Select Harmony."⁷ It would have been remarkable indeed had the four New Englanders (all personal friends and active propagandists in behalf of copyright legislation) all happened to be visiting Maryland at the same time. In actuality, only Webster was then in the state. The probability is that while registering the titles of some of his published and projected works, he also decided to register the names of works by his friends. Perhaps Law's *Select Harmony* was in his thoughts because he had used it in the singing school he had conducted in Baltimore just a few months earlier. The registrations were, of course, merely a list of titles—Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, for example, did not appear in print until May 1787, more than a year after the

Aug. 1789, and Abraham Wood's *Divine Songs* (Boston, 1789), exact date of deposit unknown. A full discussion of the Massachusetts Act and a complete list of deposits may be found in Earle E. Coleman's excellent brief study, "Copyright Deposit at Harvard," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, x, 135-41 (Winter 1956), which is illustrated with a facsimile of Winthrop's endorsement of the Law *Collection*. The copies of the *Collection* and of the *Rudiments* furnished by Law to comply with the provisions of the Act are in the Houghton Library.

⁷ The titles quoted are as they appear in Maryland Provincial Court Deeds, Liber T.B.H. No. 1, Folio 532 (Annapolis, Md.). I am indebted to Maryland State Archivist Morris L. Radoff and to Assistant Archivist Gust Skordas for their patience in answering my mail inquiries and for their help in locating the Maryland copyright registrations, as well as for their courtesy during my visit to Annapolis. For Webster's "Letters critical and practical on the English Language" see Emily E. F. Skeel, comp., and Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., ed., *A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster* (New York, 1958), p. 267.

date of entry, and Webster's "Letters critical and practical on the English language" was apparently never published.

During the course of a short residence in Philadelphia in the summer of 1784, Law registered the *Rudiments* under the Pennsylvania Act of 15 March 1784.⁸ A sojourn in New York City in 1785-86 resulted in the registration of both the *Rudiments* (probably the second edition) and the *Select Harmony* on 29 May 1786, exactly one month after the passage of copyright legislation in the State.⁹ Law does not appear to have made use of any other State copyright laws; a full list of those he is known to have obtained is given in the following table.

TABLE I—ANDREW LAW'S STATE COPYRIGHTS

Item no.	Date granted	Location & date of copyright law	Title of work copyrighted
1.	1783, 12/6	Mass., 3/17/83	A Collection of Hymn Tunes [and] A Collection of Hymns [Evans No. 17571]
2.	1783, 12/10	Mass., 3/17/83	The Rudiments of Music, 1st ed. [Evans No. 17797]
3.	1784, 7/16	Pa., 3/15/84	The Rudiments of Music
4.	1786, 1/7	Md., 4/21/83	Select Harmony [Evans No. 19754]

⁸ According to information in a letter to me from Charles E. Hughes, Jr., Philadelphia City Archivist, dated 19 July 1957, the extant records in the Prothonotary's office (which would have included copyright registrations under the Act of 15 Mar. 1784) go back only to 1873. Mr. Hughes writes that "somewhere in the moving of this office from City Hall at Fifth & Chestnut Streets, around seventy-five years ago, many of these records were lost. Others were included in the body of records that were stored in the Second Bank of the United States, now referred to as The Old Customs House, where a disgraceful and general looting took place in the early nineteen thirties."

⁹ The original records of registration under the New York Copyright Act of 29 Apr. 1786, are also no longer extant, according to a letter to me from Mary V. Jennings, Assistant Librarian of the New York State Library at Albany, dated 24 July 1957.

The source of my knowledge of Law's registrations under the Pennsylvania and New York statutes is a manuscript letter dated 5 Aug. 1842 from the Rev. Stephen H. Dodd to George Hood. This important document is in the Music Department of the Boston Public Library. Dodd had evidently known Law personally and many of the documents from the Law estate had apparently fallen into his hands. These seem to have included the original certificates of registration of Law's works. These Dodd transcribed for Hood, who was writing a history of American music in 1842 and who had requested a biographical sketch of Law from Dodd. Unfortunately, all the Law documents in the possession of Dodd have since disappeared.

5. 1786, 5/29 N. Y., 4/29/86 *Select Harmony*
 6. 1786, 5/29 N. Y., 4/29/86 *The Rudiments of Music*

With the passage of the Federal Copyright Act of 1790, the flood-gates opened and Law apparently tried to copyright all of his publications—unfortunately, not in very systematic fashion. As Table II shows, the first Law entries under the Federal statute date from 18 October 1791, when the third edition of the *Rudiments* and evidently some late printing of the 1782 *Select Harmony* were registered with the Clerk of the District Court in Connecticut. On 28 August 1792, three of the older collections of music were registered, the *Collection of Hymn Tunes* originally deposited for copyright in Massachusetts on 6 December 1783, the first edition of the *Rudiments* originally deposited for copyright in Massachusetts on 10 December 1783, and what must have been either the 1778 or 1779 edition of the *Select Harmony*. Thereafter, copyright registrations followed actual publication quite closely.

TABLE II—ANDREW LAW'S FEDERAL COPYRIGHTS

Item no.	Date granted	Location of dist. court	Title of work copyrighted
7.	1791, 10/18	Conn.	<i>The Rudiments of Music</i> , 3rd ed. [Evans No. 23491]
8.	1791, 10/18	Conn.	<i>Select Harmony</i> , 1782 ed.? [Evans No. 23492]
9.	1792, 8/28	Conn.	<i>A Collection of Hymn Tunes</i> [Evans No. 24463]
10.	1792, 8/28	Conn.	<i>The Rudiments of Music</i> , 1st ed. [Evans No. 24465]
11.	1792, 8/28	Conn.	<i>Select Harmony</i> , 1779 ed.? [Evans No. 24467]
12.	1792, 9/18	Conn.	<i>The Rudiments of Music</i> , 4th ed. [Evans No. 24466]
13.	1792, 10/8	Conn.	<i>The Musical Magazine</i> [No. 1] [Evans No. 24464]
14.	1793, 6/19	Conn.	<i>The Musical Magazine</i> No. 2 [Evans No. 25708]

15. 1793, 8/27	Conn.	The Musical Primer [Evans No. 25709]
16. 1794, 4/8	Conn.	The Art of Singing, Pt. I [Evans No. 27204]
17. 1794, 4/8	Conn.	The Art of Singing, Pt. II
18. 1794, 4/8	Conn.	The Christian Harmony [Evans No. 27205]
19. 1794, 10/9	Conn.	The Musical Magazine No. 3 [Evans No. 27206]
20. 1795, 4/24	Conn.	The Musical Magazine No. 4 [Evans No. 28955]
21. 1796, 9/8	Conn.	The Christian Harmony, vol. II [Evans No. 30680]
22. 1799, 1/21	Penn.	The Musical Magazine No. 5 [Evans No. 35719]
23. 1801, 11/17	Penn.	The Musical Magazine No. 6
24. 1803, 12/10	Mass.	The Art of Singing, 4th ed.
25. 1804, 11/5	Mass.	The Musical Magazine No. I, 4th ed.
26. 1807, 9/10	Penn.	The Harmonic Companion, 3rd ed.
27. 1807, 10/8	Penn.	A Choice Collection of Church Music
28. 1809, 5/19	Penn.	The Art of Playing the Organ
29. 1810, 2/24	Penn.	The Art of Singing, Pt. III
30. 1811, 8/14	Penn.	Supplement to the Musical Primer
31. 1814, 8/24	Penn.	Essays on Music

The peculiarly complex nature of Law's most ambitious subsequent venture, the *Art of Singing*, accounts for what seem like several duplications in his list of Federal copyrights. The *Art of Singing* was a curious work made up of three separate parts, each of which bore a distinct title of its own: Part I was the *Musical Primer*, Part II was the *Christian Harmony*, and Part III was the *Musical Magazine*. A second volume was added to Part II (item 21) two years and five months after the *Christian Harmony* first appeared, while Part III was "a periodical publication" of which six numbers were issued (items 13-14, 19-20, 22-23) between 1792 and 1801. All of these parts, volumes, and numbers were

published originally at different times, and all were combined by Law under the title the *Art of Singing* apparently as the fancy seized him. It is plain that the first two numbers of the *Musical Magazine* (items 13-14) and the *Musical Primer* (item 15) were first registered as distinct works having no connection with the *Art of Singing*.¹⁰ The *Art of Singing* came into the picture on 8 April 1794, when Parts I and II (items 16-17) were registered. Part I was quite evidently not a new publication—it was merely the *Musical Primer* (item 15) with an additional title page. In exactly the same manner, Part II (item 17) and the *Christian Harmony* (item 18) prove to be one and the same work. Examination of extant copies of the 1794 *Art of Singing* demonstrates that Parts I and II do indeed contain double title pages, as one would suspect from the copyright entries.

The situation in regard to the *Art of Singing* as it is revealed in the copyright registrations points up the fact, important to bear in mind, that it was merely the *title* which was registered with the Clerk of the District Court in the State in which the author or proprietor was resident. This registration did not necessarily presuppose the existence of an actual book by that title at the time of registration. A considerable amount of bibliographical confusion has been generated about Law because of Charles Evans' *American Bibliography*, in which the relationship between copyright registration and printed book is regrettably obscured.

There does exist, however, a contemporary authentic record of actual books brought out by Law which has been overlooked by bibliographers in the past. One of the provisions of the Federal Copyright Act of 1790 required the author or proprietor, within six months after the publication of his work, to file a copy of his work in the office of the Secretary of State. This was in addition to the registration of the

¹⁰ In a letter to Jedidiah Morse dated 28 Aug. 1793, Law wrote that he was "about publishing a system of Psalmody some thing different from what is now in use." This is a plain reference to the forthcoming *Art of Singing* one day after the *Musical Primer* was registered for copyright in the District Court of Connecticut, but it is doubtful that he had the actual title, "The Art of Singing," in mind at that time. The earliest mention of the *title* would seem to be that in the registrations of 8 Apr. 1794.

I am indebted to Joyce Ellen Mangler of Brown University for calling my attention to this letter and for permitting me to read her most interesting unpublished master's thesis, "Andrew Law—Musical Reformer" (Brown University, 1956).

title. The provision was more honored in the breach than in the observance, but many books were deposited. Fortunately, the ledger in which receipt of these books was recorded has been preserved and is available in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress. The ledger is, of course, of the greatest bibliographical interest because it is conclusive evidence of actual publication. For this reason, it is more important in some respects than the better known records of the various Clerks of the various District Courts, which are merely lists of titles, many of which never appeared as books. Table III gives the name of Law's works as culled from the records of receipt of the Secretary of State, together with an identification of the particular copyright registration to which each is allied. This is not a complete list of Law's publications, but each item on the list was published in book form.

TABLE III—COPIES OF LAW'S PUBLICATIONS
DEPOSITED IN THE OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

Date deposited	Title of publication	No. of item in Table II
1792, 9/28	Rudiments of Music	10
1792, 9/28	Select Harmony	11
1792, 12/7	Rudiments of Music, 4th ed.	12
1792, 12/7	Musical Magazine No. 1	13
1794, 8/18	The Art of Singing	14?
1794, 8/18	The Musical Primer	15
1794, 8/27	The Art of Singing, Pt. 1	16
1797, 3/7	The Art of Singing, Pt. 11 [Christian Harmony, vol. 11]	21
1799, 7/3	The Musical Magazine No. 5 [Art of Singing, Pt. 111]	22
1802, 4/26	The Musical Magazine No. 6 [Art of Singing, Pt. 111]	23

1804, 5/28	The Art of Singing, 4th ed.	24
1805, 4/23	The Art of Singing, Pt. III, 4th ed.	25
1806, 4/22	The Art of Singing, 4th ed. [Pt. II]	?
1808, 2/29	Harmonic Companion	26
1808, 2/29	Choice Collection of Church Music	27
1809, 10/27	Art of Playing the Organ	28
1812, 2/13	Supplement to the Musical Primer	30

The fact that Law, who was so actively interested in protecting his work by copyright, never did register in any shape, form, or manner the so-called *Collection of the Best and Most Approved Tunes & Anthems* reported by Evans (No. 17201) is strong evidence that such a book never was issued. The probable history of the genesis of this ghost title, which invariably finds its way into every list of Law's works, illustrates some of the pitfalls into which the unsuspecting bibliographer who decides to tangle with eighteenth-century American music imprints may stumble.

In the petition he submitted to the Connecticut General Assembly on 15 October 1781, requesting a patent on a list of tunes and anthems, Law made use of the phrase, "Collection of the best & most approved Tunes," to describe a work of his, the *Select Number of Plain Tunes* (n.p., n.d.), which he complained had been pirated. The General Assembly borrowed the phrase for the bill in form which was drawn up as a consequence of Law's memorial (in the process, amplifying it slightly into "Collection of the best & most approved Tunes & Anthems for the Promotion of Psalmody") but they used it to describe a hypothetical tune book containing Law's forty-two tunes and nine anthems which they thought had either appeared or was about to appear. In neither Law's petition nor the bill in form was the phrase used as a book title. The descriptive phrase became a book title in the hands of an unknown clerk who made an official copy of the act resulting from Law's memorial, perhaps for Law himself. On the otherwise blank verso of this document (owned by Yale University), the clerk enclosed the legislature's phrase in quotation marks as an identifying tag—and a fictitious book was born. The Yale transcript would thus appear to be the source of the *Collection of the Best and Most Approved*

Tunes and Anthems for the Promotion of Psalmody supposedly issued in 1781 and listed in Evans as No. 17201.¹¹

The bibliographical situation was still further complicated when, relying upon the Evans entry, an unsuspecting cataloguer at the New York Public Library described a copy of the *Select Harmony* lacking title page as the hitherto-unlocated *Collections of the Best and Most Approved Tunes and Anthems*. This was an understandable error in the light of the fact that the incomplete copy does differ considerably from a complete *Select Harmony* in the New York Public Library. However, the printing history of the *Select Harmony* is more complex than the cataloguer knew, and the incomplete copy is nothing more than a 1779 *Select Harmony*. It differs from the complete copy so markedly because that happened to be a 1782 edition. In such a fashion, a ghost achieves corporeality.

¹¹ My remarks do not explain Evans Nos. 16317 and 17572, entries for the identical title for the years 1779 and 1782. I can only assume that Evans must have seen newspaper advertisements for one of the Law tune books from these years which did not specify it by name, and associated these advertisements with the postulated *Collection of the Best*. For example, a notice in the New Haven *Connecticut Journal* for 17 Feb. 1779, stated that "the First Part of Mr. Law's Collection of the Most Favorite Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Anthems" was for sale. Although this clearly pertains to a 1778 edition of the *Select Harmony*, Evans may have constructed a 1779 entry based on it, erroneously connecting it in his mind with the hypothetical 1781 *Collection of the Best*. Constructions of this general nature were apparently not uncommon with the great bibliographer, to whom all Americanists are so deeply indebted. I am, however, at a complete loss to account for the imprints he cites for the three *Collections of the Best*.

Author, Compositor, and Metre:
Copy-Spelling in *Titus Andronicus* and other
Elizabethan Printings

By HEREWARD T. PRICE

WHILE working on the Variorum Edition of *Titus Andronicus* I have naturally been interested in considering how closely Qo 1 reproduced the copy from which it was printed. The question is the more important as scholars agree that the compositors were working on a manuscript close to Shakespeare. I have also been concerned about the indifference which modern editors manifest towards certain characteristic spellings in Shakespearean texts.

In a lecture¹ delivered at a meeting of the English Institute in New York ten years ago I considered those editions of Shakespeare's plays which scholars consider to have been printed, like *Titus*, from copy close to Shakespeare. It occurred to me that it was a sensible theory that texts based on the same kind of copy would exhibit similar characteristics. On examination the "texts close to Shakespeare" did in fact appear to be distinguished by certain common methods of spelling. That is to say the spellings were not haphazard, but on the contrary they indicated a mind shaping a procedure. It was clear that Shakespeare closely adapted spelling to metre, showing elision, where that was necessary, or printing the full form, just as the metre demanded.

At another meeting of the English Institute, held in 1954, Dr. Alice Walker attacked this theory with characteristic forthrightness and energy. She says: "Among textual critics, though the wiser heads have never supposed that the spelling of printed books was the author's (the Old Cambridge editors . . . rejected the idea of an old spelling Shakespeare on this account), there is even yet a great deal of muddled thinking. Spellings of one writer are compared with those of another on the evidence of printed texts of different dates from

¹ Published in *English Institute Essays*, 1947. Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 137-68.

different printing houses [here a note refers specifically to my article] and the vagaries of compositors are being erratically introduced into modernized texts of Shakespeare."²

Dr. Walker's attack makes it necessary to investigate Shakespeare's spellings again. I propose to persevere in contumacious heresy and to examine the subject of metrical spelling as it appears in works, by different authors, produced at different dates, in different printing shops. By a metrical spelling I mean a spelling so adjusted to the metre as to show whether a syllable is to be clipped or to be pronounced in full. With a view to Qo 1 of *Titus* I wish to consider who is to be held responsible for the metrical spellings—the poet who devised the metre, or the compositor. On theory there can only be one answer to this question—the poet. A study of different texts printed at different dates and set by different compositors will support this conclusion.

In many editions of Shakespeare the metrical spellings are hard to find, more especially in Dr. Walker's protégé, the Old Cambridge edition. Former editors just smoothed them away. But our generation has brought about a revolution, and some modern editors of Shakespeare, such as Neilson, Hill, Kittredge, Alexander, Maxwell, and occasionally Sisson, accept these spellings. However, to quote a famous politician, let us look at the record. If we are to clear these spellings of the reproach that they are "the vagaries of compositors," we must show that they rest upon a broad basis of evidence.

Now, as everybody knows, we are not without information about the manner in which the Elizabethan compositor handled his copy. Greg made the first step by his discussion of the copy for books xiv-xlvi of Harington's *Orlando Furioso*.³ This is British Museum Add. MS. 18920. The printed edition is dated 1591.

Our fullest information on Elizabethan copy in general comes, of course, from Dr. Percy Simpson's authoritative book.⁴ Simpson discusses the Harington manuscript on pages 71-75. Taking the hint

² Alice Walker, "Compositor Determination and other Problems" in *Studies in Bibliography*, VII, 4 (1955).

³ See *The Library*, Series 4, IV, 102-18 (1923).

⁴ *Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Oxford University Press, 1935.

from Greg and Simpson, I dealt with the compositor's treatment of grammar in this manuscript,⁵ of which I shall say more later on. Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* consists of forty-six books or cantos of poetry with long stretches of annotation in prose between the books. No one rigid system of rules binds the printer. In reproducing the copy his practises vary according as he is dealing with metrical spellings, rhymes, the rest of the verse, or prose. Unfortunately neither Greg nor Simpson describes fully what the printer did. They are careful to record many characteristic changes that he made in the spelling, and, of course, they note that the printer altered the punctuation pretty much as he liked. But one important virtue of the compositor escapes them completely. Harington molds his spelling to fit the metre and in this case the compositor follows his copy intelligently and persistently. In the course of this long poem of over 400 pages he only deviates from the metrical spelling in his copy a few times. He is not erratic and it would be unjust to speak of his vagaries.

The rhymes do not properly concern us here, as *Titus* shows only a few. However, since Greg is vague about them, it will be useful to point out later on to what extent they show spellings taken from the copy. The manuscript, then, makes clear that Harington was both systematic and thorough in adapting spelling to metre. Where the pronunciation is clipped, the spelling is clipped. Every sort of clipped spelling is there: *evry* (frequent), *prisner* (frequent), *heavn*, *evn*, *glittring*, *betroht*, *forst*, *th'end*, *th'Erle* and so on, beyond the possibility of reporting. On the other hand, Harington is most careful to write the full form when the word is to be pronounced in full.

It is impossible within the framework of this paper to offer an exhaustive description of Harington's spellings. I am limiting the discussion to the special cases where the copy and the printed text agree. Normally a printing house had its own set of rules and each compositor had his idiosyncrasies besides. I hope at a later time to deal with this aspect of the question with regard to Harington but there is no space to discuss it here.

The following account is necessarily superficial, since it is restricted to a few examples pertinent to this one issue under discussion. The

⁵ "Grammar and the Compositor in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in *JEGP* 38, 540-48 (1939); on *Orlando*, pp. 543-44.

quotations will make clear that Harington spells the same word differently according to the varying requirements of metre and rhyme. They will show that the compositor closely follows the variations in the copy. At the same time, he keeps the normal vowel-patterns which he uses elsewhere in the book, substituting, for instance, *i* and *u* for *y* and *v* of the copy. In the following quotations the forms in brackets are from the print: I quote by book and stanza.⁶

24.69 how she lamented, wayled [wailed], movrnd [mournd], and wept.

46.18 And there I did your noble curtsie prove

46.45 did him that cowlrtesy that sure doth passe

The greatest cowlrtesy that ever was.

[Print has *courtesie* in both cases.]

46.107 so had the bloe amazd [amaz'd] his hed and brayn.

so had the bloe dazed [dased] his witt and sense.

24.2 Like wilfull prysners [prisners] store of Ir'ns [ir'ns] and bolts.

[*pry'sner*, *pris'ner* is frequent; ed. 1607 reads *iron bolts*.]

14.63 And then his vowes and prayers [two syllables] all recownted

14.64 and thowsand prayrs [pray'rs] alyke at that same tyme

his gracious eare doth to their prayr [pray'r] encline.

In the same way we have *bowers*:*towers* in rhyme (14.52) as monosyllables, and *fyer* (fier) (22.30) and *hower* [houer] (21.23) as dissyllables. Such indications are frequent.

Where the verb ended in a vowel, Harington and the printer observe the same distinctions between clipped and unclipped inflected forms. We have, for example:

14.83 to him the Awngell goth [gothe] and in his ear

14.85 then goeth he among the Pagans skowt

28.48 some must be wood [woode], forsoothe, they wear so chaste,

and save theare weare, that wooed them as faste.

24.79 So then this prince espyed [espied] Rodomownt.

So also *followth* (21.23) and *growth* (27.98). Compare also the dissyllabic rhymes *denyed*: *plyed*: *tryed* at 34.27 with *tyde* (i.e., tied):

⁶ For the metrical usage with regard to final *-ed* see William S. Walker, *Shakespeare's Versification*, 1854, pp. 136-39. For the usage in actual speech see E. J. Dobson, *English Pronunciation*, Oxford, 1957, 76of. For *tower*, *hour*, *fire*, etc., see John Hart, *An Orthographie*, 1569, pp. 43b-44a, ed. Bror Danielsson, 1955, p. 199; and Walker, pp. 136-58.

syde: pryde [*tide: side: pride:*] at 24.16. These are merely a handful of examples. Space permitting, hundreds could be produced to the same effect.

It is a matter of course that the compositor usually follows the copy with regard to *-ed* or *-d* in polysyllabic rhymes. Rhymes like *distayned* [*distained*]: *complayned* [*complained*]: *remayned* [*remained*] at 14.43 in the middle of the stanza or *beckned:reckned* at 14.64 in the final couplet are frequent, and the compositor never fails to follow the copy. Where Harington wants the clipped forms, the compositor takes those over too. For examples see the rhymes in the passages Greg reprints which I give below.

So far we have handled the agreement between copy and print. However, where the metre is not concerned, the printer will make changes from his copy. Thus at 34.40 he sets *Hercles* in verse but *Hercules* in the marginal note. At 34.14 the marginal note in the copy has *Odrik taken prisoner* and the compositor sets *Oderik*. In the verse the form is *Oderik*. At 3.39, for which indeed we have no copy for comparison, the printed text reads *Hercules* in the marginal note and in the verse it reads: "Now *Hercles* coms and *Hercules* indeed."

These findings are supported by the facsimile pages printed by Simpson and Greg. Simpson places his facsimile of Book 43, stanzas 160-64, opposite p. 74. In a careful analysis he notes, "Seventy changes in spelling are made on this one page by the printer; this without taking into account medial 'u' and the expansion of contractions" (p. 74). All this is true, but Simpson, like Greg, fails to note what the printer took over from his copy. We shall give a short list of forms, noting that Harington writes *v* and *y* and the compositor sets *u* and *i*.

In Simpson the clipped forms are: *heav'ns*, *stryvd*, *evry*, *procurd*, *utterd*, *lyvst*, *ympaired*, *seaverd*, *ioyd*. The printed copy has its equivalent for all of these. The full forms are *spared*, *aged*, *approched*, *fixed*, *be-reaved*. In all these *-ed* is pronounced as an extra syllable. The print follows suit in these too. In addition we have the verbal forms *stryvd*, *stryck* [print *stricke*], and *tare*.

On pages 110-15 Greg prints Book 29, stanzas 1-7, and the facsimile sheet opposite p. 118 contains Book 27, stanzas 1-4.

Since Greg's article has exercised so much influence on scholarly

opinion, it will be necessary to scrutinize his conclusions carefully. He is certainly right in his main conclusion that many copy-spellings find their way into printed texts and that Shakespearean texts contain a certain number. He lists a few copy-spellings that he finds in the extract from Book 29, stanzas 1-7, which he prints on pp. 110-15. He notes that Field prints *u* for Harington's *w* before consonants and that he substitutes *i* for Harington's *y*. So *charunge* becomes *chaunge* and *dyde* becomes *dide*. Among the forms he recognizes as copy-spellings are the following: *Frire* for friar, *wordly* (for which see below, p. 167), *lim*, *way* for weigh, *holly* for holy, *ey*, *loose* for lose, *sequell*, *enthralld*, *fansie*, *foorth*, *twise*, *thrise*, *dide* for manuscript *dyde*, meaning died, and half a dozen cases where the compositor takes over *y* for *i* (pp. 116-17). But these are not enough. To begin with, Greg does not recognize the metrical spellings. They are as follows (for the time being I except the rhymes). The printed form is in round brackets. The material spellings are:

devysd (*deuisd*) *evn* (*Eu'n*) st. 1

damned, two syllables st. 2

was so *enthralld* he *woos* her by and by st. 3

aged st. 5

dyde (*dide*) *hurled* st. 7

The important spellings in rhyme are: *wynde*: *mynde*: *kynde* (*wynd*: *mynd*:

kynd) *revylde*: *reconcylde* (*reuild*: *reconcild*) st. 1

stowunge: *towunge* (*stoung*: *toung*) st. 2

[The printer sets *toung* for manuscript *tonge* at 46.10; he may have preferred *toung* anyhow.]

possessed: *professed*: *distressed* st. 3

(The compositor might have printed the rhymes in *-est*, i.e. *possest*, etc., but he keeps the copy.)

ey: *by* st. 3

holly: *folly* st. 4

spacyous: *awdacious*: *ungracious* (*spacious*: *audacious*: *vngracious*) st. 5

grew: *threw*: *ensew*. The printer's normal spelling out of rhyme would be *ensue*. st. 6

battered: *scattered* (*skattered*) st. 6

him: *swim*: *lim*: *way*: *say* st. 7

Of these Greg mentions: *enthralld*, *dyde*, the rhymes with *y* in st. 1, the rhymes with *-ow-(-ou)* in st. 2, *enthralld*, *holly*, *folly* and the rhymes in st. 7. But the significance of the metrical spellings escapes him; indeed he lists *enthralld* and *dyde* among those spellings which "are not individually of much evidential value." They are at any rate evidence that the compositor took over metrical spellings.

There are the following identical spellings: *loose* (Argument), *vnconstant*, *sudden* (elsewhere the printer usually substitutes *sodain* for *sudden*), st. 1; *certes*, *turke*, st. 2; *sequell*, *him selfe*, st. 3; *enflame*, *speach*, *speeches*, *wordly*, st. 4; *beard* st. 5; *foorth* (in other places the printer usually "corrects" to *forth*) st. 6. Then there are the instances which Greg mentions where the printer preserves *y* instead of changing it to *i*; as the rhymes in st. 1; *women kynde* st. 1; *fayre*, *byte* st. 2; *playn*, *kynd* st. 3. This he does elsewhere. It is noticeable that the printer separates words as in the copy (see *women kynde*, *him selfe* above).

Greg mentions the rhymes *holly* = holy: *folly* (st. 4). The rhyme was allowable, as Elizabethan phoneticians recognize a short *o* in holy.⁷ The important thing about these spellings is that Harington's rule is to end his words in final *-y* and the printer's rule is to end them in *-ie*. Thus he prints *fansie* for *fansy* (st. 4) and *furie* for *fury* (st. 6), but, as an exception, he has *chiefly* for *cheefly* (st. 1). Where a word ends in final *-y* in the print, it is the result of the influence of the copy.

On p. 116 Greg says: "The most obvious copy-spelling is the queer word 'Frire', where the manuscript has 'fryre' ([st.] 4⁵). The spelling 'friar' was well established at the end of the sixteenth century, and the present variant almost raises a suspicion that the compositor may have been uncertain of the author's meaning." To an Elizabethan, *frire* was not queer. It was a common every-day form. The line is "For still the godly fryre [Frire] refutes the same." If Greg had turned back a little to page 252 to read up the whole episode of the friar, he could have found *frire* repeatedly in the text and once in rhyme. He could also have found that Harington twice calls this "godly" man a priest. If he had read to and fro in the book he would have found that the spellings *fryer*: *nyer* (= nigher): *myer* (= mire) at 15.36 indicate a dissyllable. At 15.34 the compositor turns *fryre*

⁷ E. J. Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500-1700* (1957), II, 484.

into *frier*, against the metre. The form *frire* occurs in many passages in the book where Harington chose it to indicate a monosyllable. The printer, like any other Elizabethan, must have been certain of the author's meaning.

In connection with *Titus Andronicus* it is important to notice the *Orlando Furioso* spelling *wordly* for *worldly* in copy and in print at 27.4, while at 46.27 both texts have *worldly*. Again at 24.72 the printer changes *worldly* to *wordly*, and in the prose on p. 288 he changes the mistake *wodly* of the copy to *worldly*. In *Titus*, *wordlie* is the reading of Qo 1 on sig. I3b (v.ii.68); Qo 2 and all subsequent versions have *worldly*, while at Bib (i.i.152) *worldly* is the reading of Qo 1 and of all other editions. In *Richard II*, Fo 2 substitutes *wordly* for *worldly* (iii.ii.56), and in *Othello* Fo. 1 has *wordly* for Qo *worldly* (i.iii.300). It will be seen that in *Orlando* the readings interchange; sometimes the copy, sometimes the printer has the one or the other form. Qo 1 of *Titus* has both forms too.

Greg, without offering any evidence, calls *wordly* "quite archaic."⁸ If this were true, then we should be inclined wherever *wordly* occurs to regard it as a copy-spelling and not as the choice of the compositor. Characteristically the Elizabethan compositor does not archaize; on the contrary he normalizes or conventionalizes spellings by bringing them up to date.

It is probable that *wordly* was becoming colloquial and "non-u." A related form still survives in Scotch and northern dialects (see Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *Ward*). In Middle English *word*, *wordly* developed normally out of *world*, *worldly*. Quite naturally the middle consonant in a clutch of three was dropped. In Shakespeare's day the forms were going out of polite and literary use, probably because they sounded sloppy and careless. Educated people, the upper classes, the "u"-set, tend to be strict in "spelling-pronunciations." For all that, *wordly* was not yet altogether taboo.⁹

Some of Harington's spellings in these stanzas from Greg occur throughout the book and the compositor regularly corrects in the same way. Thus *hee*, *mee*, *shee*, *wee* are Harington's chosen spellings.

⁸ *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

⁹ I am indebted to Dr. E. J. Dobson for information on *wordly*. See also Wilhelm Horn and Martin Lehnert, *Laut und Leben*, II (1954), 1122, and literature there given.

The compositor changes to *he, me, she, we* everywhere. Harington is fond of a final *-e* after a consonant (cf. *wynde: mynde: kynde* in st. 1) but the compositor usually cuts it. On the other hand in certain suffixes (*-ate, -ite, etc.*) Harington usually has no *-e*, therefore *doctryn* (st. 5); the printer changes to *doctrine*. Harington always prefers *dyvers* (6 and 7), the printer always *diuerse*, as here. Harington always has *moch, soch*; the printer always *much, such*.

Since Greg handles the rhymes uncertainly, it will be necessary to discuss them in some detail. English being poor in rhymes, Harington has to strain his invention. Sometimes he takes obsolescent forms as in *far: arr [ar]: iar* at 14.36, where *arr* is a form of *err*. At other times he invents spellings so that all three rhymes shall look alike, as *bloes* (i.e., blows) *croes* (i.e., crows): *foes* at 14.1, or *plast* (i.e., placed): *last: fast* at 14.108; but the next stanza has *placed* in the middle of the line. In all these variations of spelling the printer followed Harington.

There are other remarkable cases of agreement, such as *lafter: after* at 35.29, also at 28.71, and at 28.72 *laughed* in the middle of the line; then *rest: blest: releast* at 35.43, *affoord: aboard: word* at 35.44, or *bred: sed: ded* at 35.66 against *sayd: prayd: stayd* at 35.69. As we have seen, the two versions agree in "metrical" rhyme-spellings. Thus *bowers: towers* at 14.52, or *dyved: covered: repryved: hovered: arryved: recovered* at 35.15. Compare also *vewd: exclude: rude* at 35.32 with *vewed: subdewed: indewed* at 35.75, or *syde: abyde: tryde* [print *side: abide: tride*] at 14.109 with *replyed: dyed: tryed* at 35.73.

In most cases, however, the compositor changes Harington's spellings to the forms that were becoming standard in the printing house. Thus *cheefe: beleefe* becomes *chiefe: believe* at 14.23. At 14.75 the copy has *yit: wit: fit* and at 35.1 *witt: hit: yit*; in both cases the compositor sets *yet*. The compositor's practice is not uniform: thus at 22.71 he follows the copy in setting *yeeld: feeld: sheeld*, where we should expect him to set *ie* in all three words. At 15.15 and 15.62 he sets *seeld* (i.e., seldom): *yeeld: feeld* from the copy.

Greg's observations on the rhymes make it necessary to discuss spellings with *yit*. He points out that at 34.79 the printer changes the rhyme *offence: sens* to *offence: since*, and he adds: "One rather wonders

whether Harington read his proof."¹⁰ The fact is that just as the compositor "normalized" the spellings elsewhere, so he treated the rhyme-spellings as he saw fit. Except where the metre was concerned, he was more likely to make a change than not. The examples with *yit* (*yet*) in the previous paragraph show that he did not always worry when his normalizations put the rhymes out of joint. Nor apparently did Harington interfere.

Either the conventions of the printing-house rendered Harington powerless to change the spelling of rhymes or he just did not care. But when all these things are considered, it is obvious that a great many copy-spellings in the rhymes got through. The more bizarre the spelling, the more likely the printer was to take it over.

In another connection Greg asserts: "Harington not only subjected his manuscript to elaborate revision, but prepared it for press with care."¹¹ Simpson agrees, saying that "Harington has revised it [the manuscript] with minute care."¹² It is true that someone, probably Harington, went through the manuscript and made small corrections here and there. But the correction was haphazard. At 28.43 someone has struck through the *e* in *weare* to produce the right form *ware*. At 46.68 the *o* in *Ivory* has been struck through and the print reads *Iu'rie*. But the corrector, whoever he was, did not try to do a thorough job. There are numerous instances of the printed text correcting the copy to show elision in conformity with the metre where the copy has the full form. Thus at 14.44 the copy reads: "To have his prysoner, suffer him to woe her, And yeeld him self a prysoner unto her." The compositor changes the first *prysoner* to *prisner*, the second to *prisoner*. In the same way at 14.101, "A tower whose heyght showld wth the clowdes compare" becomes in print *A towr*. So at 15.19 and 46.36 *Emperors*; 15.26 *prosperous*; 15.65 *difference*; 46.2 *Ordynawnce*; 46.36, 71, 88 *reuerence*; 46.74 *Cardynalls*; 46.122 *bickering* are all docked by the printer of *e* or *y* in order to make the spelling conform with the metre. It is strange that whoever corrected *Ivory* at 46.47 should have ignored so many other examples of unmetrical spelling in the same

¹⁰ *loc. cit.*, p. 109.

¹¹ p. 106.

¹² p. 71.

book. At 33.107 the print corrects the copy's mistake *adorn* to the right form *adornd*.

It does not need to be said that more than one compositor worked on *Orlando*. But I say "compositor" instead of "compositors" because in the particular matter under discussion the usage of the Elizabethan printing press is invariable. In all the verse printed in Elizabethan times that I have examined I have found the printer conscientiously observing metrical spellings. We may take it that there was an iron-clad rule that the compositor was to observe these spellings, that he was trained to do so, and that in practice he was amazingly skillful. He changed other spellings, sometimes according to the rules of the printing house, as *sodain* for *sudden*, *much* for *moch*, and sometimes according to his own preferences, but the metrical spelling he left untouched.

It is with intention that I have said "the print" because I am unable to decide whether Harington or the compositor made these corrections. Looking through the book I have discovered a correction which appears to be certainly Harington's. At 31.89 the copy reads: "The next book saving one the matter shows," where the print reads "... the sequell shows." No compositor would take it upon himself to make a correction so radical. On the other hand at 15.34 the copy-spelling *fryre* becomes *fryer* and at 22.17 *devlysh* becomes *divellish*, in both cases against the metre. Here we obviously see a compositor at work normalizing.

Again at 46.113 the copy reads:

It strake him twyxt the showlder and the hed,
and gave to him a blow so firme and sownd,
that good Rogero thearwith staggered,
and skant could keep his foot uppon the grownd;
Rodomont to close with him hastened,

The print reads *hed: staggéred* and for the last line: "Rodomont to close with him then hast'ned." I am unable to defend the beauty of rhyme or rhythm in either reading. However, it is pretty clear that the compositor is responsible for the printed text. Elsewhere in the book he changes *sugerd* to *sugred* (21.40), *hapend* to *hapned* (22.45).

Probably, therefore, he was the man who changed *hastened* to *hast'ned*, patching up the line with *then*. He obviously was the man who put the accent on *staggéred*, a blunder inconceivable in Harington the poet. It is beyond my comprehension that so intelligent a man as was the press-corrector for this book should have allowed it to stand. It is not mentioned in the *Faults escaped* . . . at the end of the book. The second edition of 1607, which brutally rehashes the whole stanza, reads *head: staggered*: and for the third line: "the Turke to close with him then hast'ned." The third edition of 1634, as always, keeps to the reading of 1591.

The list of *Faults escaped in Printing* contains corrections that only Harington could have made. It is important for one thing because it shows his insistence that spellings shall be metrical. There are the following corrections:

- p. 42 (6.13) And thus resolved he gets him armour new. Change to *resolu'd*.
- p. 50 (9.52) Could be accompanied with so sweete a smile. Change to *accompan'd*. (Just as the poets change *threatened* to *threatned* for metrical purposes, so we might have expected *accompnid* to be the correction. In these two cases we have no copy to guide us.)
- p. 230 (28.71) The copy reads: "They could not see, nor speake, an hower after." The print has *houre*, the correction is back to *hower*.
- p. 138 (18.10) Copy has "An howers space," print *houers*; corrected back to *howers*.
- p. 164 (21.23) Copy has "He mett him in an hower at y^e most." The print has *houer*, correction is *howre*, no doubt a misprint for *hower*.

Then Harington at times insists on a particular spelling. On p. 150 (19.51) copy has *apparance*, print *appearance*; correction back to *aparance*. On p. 301 (36.47) copy has *thoe*, print *though*; correction back to *thoe*. The NED recognizes this spelling. Harington may have insisted upon it in order to make certain that the word was pronounced with *ō* and to avoid the phonetic ambiguity of *though*.

In other cases the corrector restores the right word for the one substituted by the printer, as *ouerwhelm'd* for *ouerthrowne* (p. 202, 25.57); *drugge* for *dugge* (p. 406); *impe* for *youth* (299, 36.9), where (in the microfilm) *ympe* appears to be written over *youth*; *suit* for *loue* (p.

362, 43.36). There is an interesting correction on p. 28 (4.37), for *loues* read *leanes*. In *Titus* (III.i.291) most scholars read *leaves* for the *loues* of Qq and Ff.

In two cases the corrector introduces new readings that are neither in the copy nor in the print. On p. 171 (22.31), the copy has *Prynce* and the print has *prince*, but the corrector says read *King*. On p. 150 (19.53) the print reads: "His coullor pyd and deckt with many a spot." This is also the reading of the third edition in 1632. But the corrector says to read "pyde powderd," and the second edition, 1607, alters to "pide powderd." The copy reads, so far as I, with the help of specialists, can decipher it in the microfilm: "his cullor powesse was, with many a spot." *Powess* may be an early form of *Pouce*, see NED under *Pouce* n., and Wright EDD. *Pouse* exists in many forms in dialect; it means "dust," and Wright gives an adjective *pousy*, meaning "dusty." *Powesse* may refer to some sort of mixed dusty grey. Harington is fond of dialect words. The widespread use of *pouse* in modern dialects would indicate that the word goes back a long way. The word *pyde powderd* is a wonderful invention. It shows Elizabethan delight in the quibble at its most daring. No one else has ever thought of using this legal term to describe the color of a horse. Tasso's Italian reads: "Tutto sparso di macchie, e di rottelle."

Some corrections, then, are significant because they show that whoever made the correction thought that metrical spelling was important. Further, we may perhaps infer that Harington read proof in order to introduce "pyd and deckt" for *powesse* or whatever stood in the copy. And he must have reread or reconsidered the passage before he could have withdrawn "pyd and deckt" and substituted "pyde powderd" in the errata. These considerations bring up the whole question of how thoroughly Harington read proof. We have seen that the compositor might blunder. It would be tempting to say that whenever there has been an alteration in the proof that is correct we can put it down to Harington, who, as the poet, would be much more interested than the compositor in correcting the metre and supplying all those apostrophes in Book 46, for instance. But if anybody denies he did this, I have no convincing argument to bring against him.

In order to test whether there is a significant difference in the num-

ber of copy-spellings that come through in verse and in prose I have taken two pages, one of verse, one of prose. The verse is on p. 276, Book 33, stanzas 106-18—thirteen stanzas of eight lines each. There are, of course, a great many words upon the spelling of which copy and print are certain to agree, as in the line: "That art of those that ay stand God before," in st. 106. The identical, or very similar, spellings are (the print is in parentheses): *guilt*, *I wot*, *ay* = always, *sew* = sue (106); and the metrical spellings *cowldest* (*couldst*), *stervd* (*steru'd*), *fayr* (*fayre*), *gravd* (*grau'd*), *miracle*, *embrast* = embraced (107); *frendly* (-lie), *heavn* (*heau'n*), *unworthy* (-ie), *hye* = high, *fowl* (*fowle*), *prayse* (108); *hast* = haste, *dyet* (109); in rhymes *prepard*: *hard* = heard, but *gard* becomes *guard*, and the rhymes *best*, *molest*, *drest*; *loe*, *sent* = scent, *ear* = ere (110); *Harpas* = harpies, *womans faces* (one might expect a correction to *womens faces*), *hungerstarvd* (-staru'd), *it selfe* (*it selfe*), *God wot*, *talents* = talons, *grype* (*gripe*), *parwnche* (*paunche*), *fylthy* (*filthy*) (111); *spoyld* (*spoild*), *lothsom*, *yrksom* (*yrksome*), *stryks* (*striks*), *vayn* (*vayne*), and again in st. 113, *smitten*, *wollen* (112); the rhymes *seen*: *uncleen*: *keen* (112), *rav'nously* (*rau'nouslie*), *devowrd* (*deuourd*), *compelld*, *wofull*, *sware*, *an other* (113); *he*, *carwd* (*causd twice*), *molten*, *noyse*, *an other*, *getts* (114); *an other*, *addresse*, *tryse* (*trise*), *then* = *than* (115); *entered*: *distempered*: *adventered*, *defence*: *sence*: *thence* rhymes: *stomaks*, *tasts* = *tastes*, *expelld*, *chaste* (*chast*) = *chased*, *Nylus* and *Nyle* (116); *allyghted* (*allighted*), *ceast* = *ceased*, *noyse* (117); *lystning* (*listning*), *entravonce* (*entraunce*), *lookt* (*lookte*), *seemd*, *to* = *too* (118). Then there are the two lines in st. 109:

for him yowr churches, and yowr awlters make
that must of dewty church and Alter have:

here the print has *aulters* and *alter*. If one did not possess the copy here, one might speak of the "vagaries of the compositor."

It will be seen that a certain number of these spellings are metrical (*seemd*, *rau'nouslie*); others are in the rhymes, and others are grammatical forms (*sware*, *smitten*). The ending -ate, -ite is mostly -at, -it in the copy and the printer often takes it over (*prostrat* st. 107). The compositor also takes over the combination -ay (*fayre* st. 107); *prayse* rhyming with *ways*, st. 108; *vayne* (st. 113); and *oy* in *noyse* (114,

117). He keeps the *ll* in *allighted* (st. 117), as frequently, though not always, elsewhere. He separates words in the same way (*an other* st. 113, 115) *it selfe* (111). Certain individual forms get through, *sew* = *sue* (106); *hye* = *high* (108); *getts* (114); but he changes *dewty* to *dutie* (109).

In addition the compositor corrects mistakes: *adorn* to *Adornd* (107); *theyr came and odor* to *there came an odour* (111). He "commits" some mistakes: *Seuen* (i.e., two syllables) for *seavn* (111); *yrsome smell* for *yrsom to smell* (112); *smothered flame* for *smotherd flame* (118). In st. 108 the copy rhymes *ame* (= *am*): *came: name* and the print changes *ame* to *am*. The compositor changes *sudden* to *sodain* in three stanzas (110, 112, 115). Apparently this is the spelling adopted by the printing-house.

This is quite a number of words for one page. I tried to select a normal page so as to obtain a fair picture of what was going on. Now, if one takes a whole page of prose, for instance p. 278, we find that here too a great many copy-spellings come through. I ignore most cases where *i, u* become *y, w*, respectively. The printer takes over the forms of the strong verb: as *spake, brake, gat*, the dropping of a final *-e* as *hast* = *haste*, *imagin, pryvat*, but *Prelates* in both, the doubling of *l* after a short vowel, *schollers, parcyallytye* (*parciallitie*), *rellygion*, a number of cases of *y* + consonant, *prayse, agayn, playne, fayned, heyr*, and finally the separation of words: *them selves, my selfe, him selfe, an other*. Other spellings are *Giawent* (*Giaunt*), *cradell, presage, then* = *than, frends, reckning, beleeeve, receaved, oportunytye* (*oportunitie*), *ded* = *dead, mary* = *marry, presydent* = *precedent, worth, towng* (*toung*), *fyne hedded* (*fine hedded*), *incoragement*.

However, if we omit the common words about which there was no problem, it can be said that the compositor changes more often than he accepts. Contrary to his usage in verse, the compositor expands contracted forms: thus *evn, turnd, devowrd, Emprors* become *euen, turned, deuoured, Emperours*. *Bee, hee, wee* become *be, he, we*. Final *-ear* becomes *-ere*: *wear, whear, austear* become *were, where, austere*. *Here* and *hear* are differentiated, *heer*, adverb, becomes *here*, *heering* becomes *hearing*. There are many other changes: *sudden, suddenly* become *sodain, sodainlie*; *trew, creweltie* become *true, crueltie*; and *christen* becomes *Christian*. In verse the compositor always preserves the copy-spelling

christen; in prose he always changes to *Christian*. These are only a few instances to stand for many. The important thing is to see that the compositor, when he is not bound to pay attention to metre and rhyme, changes more frequently and more regularly in prose than in verse. But even so, a surprisingly large number of copy-forms get through in prose.

In the article on compositor's grammar mentioned above,¹³ I compared the copy for a number of books with the printed text and stated that "we have every reason to believe that the author's grammar was left exactly as he wrote it."¹⁴ I found no corrections. I was referring to printing from manuscript copy. Compositors setting up from printed text were more inclined to change grammar. Now that I have had an opportunity to study the *Orlando* more carefully, I should like to modify my statement somewhat. The compositor keeps the forms of the strong verb. Harington is fond of preterites in *a* and the compositor gives us all of them: *bare: brake: drave: flang* (in prose, p. 288): *spake: stale* = *stole: strake* (15.74) *strave* (41.53): but *striued* (15.51 in rhyme): *wan* (46.47 in rhyme), *ware*. He has the preterites *smitt* (28.84), *smot* (24.10), and *smote* (14.36, 46.110, 112). The occurrence of *smot* in copy and print reminds one of *smot* in all three texts of *Hamlet* (1.1.63). At 46.15 there is the same pun on *holpe*, here a participle (i.e., helped) and *hope* as in *Titus* (iv.iv.59). Otherwise *holpe* is frequent in *Orlando* in both texts. In the participle, both texts have *rode* at 28.66, *wrote* at 46.70 and *hild* (i.e., held), rhyming with *kild* at 22 Argt. (cf. *Lucrece* 1257). At 22.8 both have *well stroke* in *yeares* and at 43.160 *well stryck* (*stricke*) in *years*. However, at 34.4 the compositor substitutes *driu'n* for *drov'n*. Elsewhere the copy has *dryvn* (22.3, 5). At 14.8 *thou myghtes* becomes *thou mightist* (preserving the rhythm with an ugly mess of consonants), but in the prose paragraph on p. 28 both texts have *thou flees*. At 14.38 *Who dares forbid mee when mee lyst to ride* becomes . . . *I list* . . . , and at 46.122 for *his safty sake* becomes for *his safties sake*. The compositor's fidelity to the copy in reproducing the forms of the strong verb is important. He changed spellings at will; these forms he allowed to stand. It is not certain that the compositor made any of the changes in grammar noted. Har-

¹³ See note 5, *ante*.

¹⁴ *loc. cit.*, p. 548.

ington may have made all or some of them in proof, although it is not easy to imagine any poet—except Matthew Arnold—choosing the form *might'st*.

We have seen that the printed text is chock-a-block with copy-spellings. The trouble is to know how we can identify them—when we have no copy. The metrical spellings are clearly copy-spellings to the extent that they show whether a clipped or a full form is to be pronounced. In the rhymes the compositor's spelling generally prevails, but there are numerous exceptions. An outlandish, unfamiliar, or dialect form is almost certainly from the copy, as in the rhymes *aleeke: seeke: weeke* (23.99). With the copy in front of us we can say that forms in the rhyme that differ from the forms the compositor habitually uses out of rhyme will be copy-spellings. Thus the compositor in *Orlando* prints *heart, heard, serve, clear, field* in the middle of the line and usually in rhyme too. When we find *hart, hard, sarve, cleer, feeld* in rhyme, we see that they are copy-spellings—when the copy is spread out before us. Without the copy we could, at the best, work out probabilities. Comparison between the verse and the prose passages in *Orlando* shows us that verse is of necessity much closer to the copy than prose, but still the prose has many copy-spellings.

The spellings of the copy vary, and when we find inconsistencies in a manuscript so carefully written as this of *Orlando Furioso* it should put us on our guard against assuming that where the printed text shows inconsistency, we have a compositor making "arbitrary distinctions," to use Dr. Walker's phrase. On the contrary, he may, for all we know, be following his copy most carefully.

When we turn to other Elizabethan poets, we find the same rule, that spelling should accord with metre. There is a good example in Golding of how closely the compositor followed the spelling of his copy.

They syght [i.e., sighed] for fayer Polyxeene: they syghed eeke for thee
(Ouid's *Metamorphosis*, 1567, Book xiii, p. 165.)

There are three metrical spellings in the line: *syght, fayer, syghed*.

That is only a single example. Now let us take an interesting book which reprints works that had been produced in various shops and let

us see how much of the original survives. Let us begin, then, with *Seneca his tenne tragedies translated into English*, 1581. Thomas Newton wrote the Preface and five men translated the plays—Jasper Heywood, Alexander Nevile, John Studley, T. Nuce, and T. Newton.

Of the ten tragedies I quote from eight. Five of these had been published in an earlier edition: Heywood *Hercules Furens* (1561), *Thyestes* (1560), *Troas* (? 1560), Nevile *Oedipus* (1563), Studley *Medea* (1566), *Agamemnon* (1566). I quote three plays which had not been published previously: Newton *Thebais*, Nuce *Octavia*, Studley *Hercules Oetæus*. I give the page reference to the first edition with the references to that of 1581 in round brackets. I choose this series of plays because it is important to see that the compositors of the later edition follow the rhyme and metrical spellings of the earlier editions, which came from various printing shops. These compositors do not indulge in erratic vagaries. I show a few examples of the same word differently spelled according as the metre requires it.

Heywood *Herc. Fur.*

And dreadyng yet with cowntnance (countnaunce) newe / the erthe defylde
to bee F8a (10a).

And knowe thy Megara, this sonne / thy countenaunce (countenaunce)
doothe showe K4a (16a).

And fates subdude (subdu'de), the death contemnde / I am returnde to
lyght . . . Iuno to ceasse? What thyng bydst (byd'st) thou / to be *subdued* yet
G1a (10a).

Nevile *Oedipus*.

Tis don. And all the fiers fierce, / with incense bright do flame . . .

What doth the fyre, (fire) the Sacrifice, / encompass rounde about? B7b
(83b).

Studley's *Herc. Oetæus* has *fier* or *fyer* three times on the same page as a dissyllable and also *sower* meaning sour (200b). And in Heywood's *Herc. Fur.* we find: And quyuer loaste; great noyese [i.e., noise] makes / with vyolence sente out K2a (15b).

Some clipped spellings will be of interest: *despret* (i.e., desperate), Studley *Medea* C1a (123b), F8a (136a), Studley *Herc. Oet.* 211b, Studley *Agamemnon* F2a (154a), *desprate*, Newton *Thebais* 44a, *va-*

pourd but *harbred*, Studley *Medea* G4a, G4b (138a). The clipping of inflectional forms is regularly shown, as for example in Heywood's *Troas*:

The more thou mayst the more thou oughtste / (oughtst)
to suffre in good part . . . the more behouthe
(behou'th) a happy man / humilitie of minde B8b (105a)

The two texts do not always agree. Thus the 1560 ed. of *Troas* reads *easily* as if it were a dissyllable at B6a, whereas 1581 reads *easly* (103b), which is probably right. But in Heywood's *Thyestes* the 1560 edition rightly reads *drawest* and the 1581 edition miscorrects to *drawest* (D2b, 34a). One can not lay down absolute rules for Elizabethan spelling; one can only say that in the large majority of cases we shall find that the printer takes over the metrical spelling of his original.

The rhymes exhibit the same pattern as in *Orlando*. Sometimes the spellings will show a rare or dialect form pressed into service for the sake of the rhyme as in: *seayes* (= seas): *wayes* (*saies:waies*), Heywood's *Troas* F3b (118b); *waye:sea*, Studley's *Medea* Eva (131b), but *appeas: seas*, *Troas* C4a (106a), and so usually. We have also *streeke* (= strike): *leeke*, Nuce's *Octavia* 173a; *star: detar* (*starre: detarre* = deter), Studley's *Medea* D1a (127a). Nevile's *Oedipus* has some interesting rhymes: *destroyes: skies* (B8b), *hyde: destroyd* (C2b); the 1581 edition changes to *destries* (84a), *destryde* (85a).

In addition the printer, whether following copy or not, tends to spell the two rhymes alike. Thus he sets *bee: hee* or *be: he*; *fayre: re-payre*. When the 1581 edition changes a rhyme-spelling, it will do so in both rhymes, thus in *Herc. Furens*. he changes *Arcady: by* to *Arcadye: bye*; *flyngs: wyngs* to *flynges: wynges*; *song: among* to *songe: amonge* C3a (3a). Here again there are no absolute rules but only general tendencies with many exceptions. But it may be said that where the rhyme demands an unusual pronunciation, the spelling will usually show it. And as the poet invented the spelling for the rhyme, such unusual spellings must come from the copy.

These few examples represent the general trend in the Senecan plays. They could be strengthened by hundreds more. As in *Orlando*, spellings are tailored to indicate the desired pronunciation for the purposes of metre and rhyme. And when the compositor of the later

edition reprints from the early edition, he does not indulge in vagaries. He stolidly keeps to the same principles of spelling that his predecessor had followed.

Spenser's poems show the same rigid pattern in observing metrical spellings. Let us take *Colin Clouts Come home againe*, printed by T.C. for William Ponsonby in 1595. The edition strictly distinguishes the full form from the clipped one. Take the preterite of *pipe*.

At last when as he piped had his fill (A3a)

He pip'd, I sung, and when he sung, I piped ('rhyming' with *enuied*) (A4a)

So piped we, untill we both were weary (A4a).

The distinction is observed in verbs ending in a vowel. On signature B1a we have *unespide* as three syllables; on C4a, "Admyr'd of all, yet enuied of none." The same applies to words like *hower*, *power*, *bowrer*. In the *Complaints*, also published by Ponsonby in 1591, we have

Thy scepter rent, and power put to wrack (G1b)

Into her siluer bowre the Sunne receiued (L3a),

on the same page *howres* rhymes with *Paramoures*. Verbs ending in *-w* may vary. On signature B2b of *Colin Clout* we have: "Glewed together with some subtile matter," while on the other hand on K1b we have: "And while I followed with mine eie." Similarly Shakespearean and other texts frequently have *-ed* after *-ow* and *-ew*.

I have spot-checked the *Faerie Queene* as thoroughly as appeared to be necessary and also looked through the Concordance.¹⁵ Everywhere the metrical spelling is strictly observed. Spenser has forms like *battri*, *blustring*, *poisnous*. He has *tempred* twenty-one times as a disyllable, once *tempered* as a trisyllable (*Ruins of Time* 219). It is the same with the preterites and participles of verbs ending in a vowel, as *tried* (*F.Q.* 3.9.25, 4.4.12, 29), *annoyed* (1.1.2). As in *Titus*, we have *scattered* as an adjective, *the scattered flockes* (*F.Q.* 5.12.38). At 2.5.1 he has *staied* as two syllables, while at 2.5.3 and 7 he has *stayd* as one syllable (ed. 1590, printed by John Wolf for Ponsonby).

I have turned over hundreds of pages of Elizabethan poetry, dramatic as well as other kinds, and I have found that it is a universal rule that the spelling observes the metre. This is true even of those

¹⁵ Charles G. Osgood, *Concordance*. Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1915.

snatches of verse which occur in prose books. Again let us take one example for many, Barnaby Rich's *Riche his farewell to Militarie profession*, Imprinted by V.S. for Thomas Adams, 1594. This is a collection of tales in prose, but it contains snatches of verse. On D2b-D3a there is a short poem which has the clipped forms *traind* (twice), *fixt*, *dim'd*, *sugred*, *percein'd*, and the rhyme *mind: assignde*. On the other hand it has unclipped *trained* as a dissyllable twice, and *pleased*, *dazeled* as a dissyllable once each. Like many other Elizabethan texts it sometimes shows no elision after *-ow*—for instance, it has *swallowed* as a dissyllable. Whatever poetry I looked through, in manuscript or in print, I found the same thing. The texts conform the spelling to the metre. They may vary with verbs ending in *-er* or *-or*, probably according to the effect that the poet had in view, but even here the general tendency is to choose a spelling which shows the pronunciation the poet demands. After *-ow*, *-ew* many texts do not show elision.

Such a conclusion finds confirmation in the first Qo. of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597. It is important to the extent that signatures A-D were printed by Danter who also printed Qo1 of *Titus*. The rest of the book was printed in another shop.¹⁶ However, there is no significant difference in the treatment of metrical spellings. As in all texts that print poetry, the spelling of *-ed* in the past tense and past participle indicates a system beyond the reach of the compositor's power—or inclination—to invent. In most cases, but not always, the spelling follows the metre; that is to say, when the pronunciation is to be clipped, the spelling shows it. Such spellings as *promist* or *presagde* are common forms in printed verse. Some readings are certain to have stood in the copy; as for instance: "My conceal'd Lady to our *cancelld* loue?" [Gib], substantially the same in Qo2, [H1a]. Then there is *banished*. In Qo1 it occurs eighteen times between signatures F3b-K3b. In Qo2 it occurs twenty-five times between G2b-M1a. In one or two cases the metre may be doubtful, but even in these most editors regard the spellings as metrical. Thus F4a has:

Fr: A gentler iudgement vanisht from his lips,
Not bodies death, but bodies banishment.

Rom: Ha, Banished? be mercifull, say death: . . .

¹⁶ See Harry R. Hoppe, *The Bad Quarto of "Romeo and Juliet,"* 1948, esp. pages 41f.

Fr: Hence from Verona art thou banished.

Rom: Hence banished, is banisht from the world.

K1a, "This is that banisht haughtie Montague," and so on. In these instances the spelling conforms to the metre exactly. The play that Shakespeare makes with drawing out *banished* into three syllables, recalls Antony's use of *am-bi-ti-ous* in his great speech in *Julius Caesar* (III.ii.28-118).

As in most Elizabethan texts, Shakespearean or other, Qo1 of *Romeo and Juliet* prints *-ed* in full after *-ow* (*borrowed* H3b, *unhallowed* K1a. Qo2 has the same readings.). After *-er*, the usage varies. The two Quartos agree in the readings *courerd*, *temperd*, *mistemperd*, *distemperd*, *remembred*, *murdered*. Qo1 goes wrong once: "An houre but married, Tybalt muredred." (G1a). Here Qo2 reads *murdered* (G4b). But Qo1, although it is called a "Bad Quarto," usually keeps to metrical spelling, even when it gives a variation of what Shakespeare presumably wrote. At F3b, Qo1 reads: "Romeo that muredred him is banished," where Qo2 reads "Romeo that kild him he is banished" (G2b). The metrical regularity of Qo1 is an important factor in determining its character.

We now come to some interesting grammatical forms which appear to be beyond the competence or inclination of the compositor. Four times Qo1 prints the "Shakespearean" form *thou wert* [B4b, C2a, D4a, G1a], where Qo2 has *thou wast*. Grammatically speaking, *wert* is more correct than *wast*. If not archaic, it was literary, and *wast* was taking its place in ordinary speech.

Other archaic forms occur: *brake* [B4b, Qo2. *broke* B4a], *spake* [E2a, F2b, Qo2 *spoke* F4b]. The two Quartos agree on *spake*, *spakest* [H2b, G1b], *bare* [I4a], *holp* [B1a]. At B3b, Q1 agrees with Qo2 in reading *thou loues* (B3b); at F1a it reads *thou consorts* against *thou consortest* of Qo2 (F3a).

Again Qo1 five times reads *letters* in the sense of a single epistle [I4a, K1a, K3b, K4a twice], where Qo2 uniformly has *letter*. *Titus* uses *letters* in the same way (v.i.2). Here *letters*, though frequent in Elizabethan prose and verse, is a Latinism. Qo2 gives the usual or "conventional" form.

Twice Qo1 has *horse* in the plural sense.

Goe get me incke and paper, hyre post horse . . .
 And hyre those horse: stay not I say (I3b).

Qo2 reads *horses* each time, but the wording of the lines is different. *Titus* uses *horse* in the same way (II.ii.18, 23).

In most of these cases Qo1 uses either archaic or obsolescent forms, "literary" forms. On the other hand Qo2 prints what bibliographers call "modern" forms. They were at any rate usual in ordinary speech. It seems likely that the "old-fashioned" forms of Qo1 came from the printer's copy, just as they did in *Orlando Furioso*. Otherwise we must assume that in Qo1 the compositor was replacing "modern" by "old-fashioned" forms, which would be a reversal of his normal procedure, and an excessive waste of his precious time. If we accept the grammar as coming from the copy, that might have some influence in determining for us the character of Qo1. For Qo1 of *Titus* the importance of Qo1 of *Romeo and Juliet* is clear. Danter's shop was concerned with both quartos. They both have the same fairly consistent scheme of metrical spelling and they share some slight resemblances in grammar.

We have seen how strictly the poet Harington conforms spelling to metre. The dramatist Massinger shows a similar strict attention to metre. The British Museum (Egerton MS 2828) has the manuscript of Massinger's *Beleeve as you list*, mostly in his own handwriting. I quote from the edition published by the Malone Society in 1927. In the preterite and the past participle of the verb, Massinger, with but one exception, clips the spelling when the pronunciation is to be clipped. His method is naïve; he just slaps a *d* on to the infinitive form of the verb, not caring whether *d* or *t* is to be pronounced. Thus *learnde* (3/6—means page 3, line 6), *priveledgde* (12/329) are common forms, but he also writes *taxd* (39/1155), *kepd* (26/761), *pas'de* (90/2713), and many more such. Where a verb ends in a vowel he almost always clips the spelling, as *supplide* (14/397), *swayde* (26/746), *toyde* (69/2074), and many others. But he has *died* (77/2332), *tri'ed* (81/2430), *studied* (79/2380), *carried*, at the end of the line (38/1143). Words ending in *-w* or *-ue* are treated in the same way: *strowde* (4/43), *awde* (13/368), *furrow'd* (51/1546), *swallow'd* (56/1709), *beleende* (21/608), *atchieud* (61/1855), but *borrowed* as

an adjective (33/968). With a few exceptions he slaps *d* on to verbs ending in *-er* as in *temperd* (25/91) and numerous other examples; but we also have *remembred* (53/1606, 83/2508), *accountred* (41/1232). Where *-ed* is to be pronounced, it is written out in full, especially where the form has the force of an adjective: *incensed Roman* (13/364), *despised Asian* (16/454), *seduced fooles* (21/593), *coyned accusation* (32/959). He has *interessed*, at the end of the line (38/1141). Once he spells against the metre: *sayled* (23/655). He has the metrical form *wearest* for *wearest* (13/362). In the present participle he shows the elision, as in *hindringe* (4/50), *remembrance* (31/897), *surrendringe* (35/1052). But, on the other hand, *-er-* as a medial syllable of adjectives and nouns, is often elided in the metre, but Massinger does not show it in his spelling, as, for instance, *desperate* (3/30, 4/51), *confæderate* (31/917), *prosperous* (82/2492), *soueraigne* (16/468), and others.

His usage in the few examples with *-en* or *-on* is not consistent. We have *falne* (10/278), *evn* (24/687, 27/788), *heavn* (92/2792), *cousninge* (66/1993), but *reckoninge* (78/2341), with two syllables, and in addition, *looseninge* (83/2495), *prisoner* (39/1173) at the end of a line. In addition, *buisnesse* (21/594, 612) indicates a dissyllable.

In a few cases Massinger doubles the consonant after a short vowel: after *l* as in *callamities* (7/128, 17/499), *relligion* (18/512), *skelliton* (73/2199), *sollemne* (82/2485), *ballance* (74/2130), *Pallace* (86/2589); after *t*, as in *pittie* (46/1379) and elsewhere, *cittie* (55/1655), after *d* in *steddie* (74/223).

This pattern of strictness in some spellings and irregularity in others we are to find in *Titus*. In *Beleeve as you list* we know that any inconsistencies come from Massinger himself. The question will be: Are inconsistencies in the printed text of *Titus* "the vagaries of the compositor" or may they originate in the copy?

The evidence shows that the printed editions of poetry in Elizabethan times have a family resemblance. No matter who the publisher or printer, no matter who the compositor, the text always exhibits a spelling adapted to the metre. Since we have the copy for Harington's *Orlando*, we are able to show that when the compositor sets metrical spellings he is following his copy. The manuscript of *Beleeve as you*

list, in Massinger's handwriting for the most part, shows the same conformity of spelling to metre. Spenser is a strict observer of metrical spelling. All other Elizabethan poetry that I have looked at has this same sort of metrical spelling. The details vary, but the principle is the same. When, therefore, I said that the metrical spellings in Qo1 of *Titus Andronicus* came from the copy, from Shakespeare himself, it might appear that this judgment was not altogether unreasonable.

On one or two matters I should like to modify or expand my article in the *English Institute Essays*. First, with regard to verbs ending in a vowel: We have seen that in Harington such verbs had clipped or full forms, according to the metre. It is the same in *Titus*. Where the metre requires it, all the verbs ending in *-ay* have clipped forms: *Plaide* (on title page and heading to A3a), *plaide* (C1b, I1b, 1.399, v.i.111), *staide* (D4a, 11.iii.181), *straid* (H4b, v.i.20, end of line), *waid*, *wayd* from *way*, a form of *weigh* (A4a, A4b, 1.1.55 end of line, 1.1.73). To these we may add other spellings, *woode* (C4a, 11.i.82, end of line), *wall-eyd* (H4b, v.i.44), *imploid*, *employde* (F3a, H1a, K1a, 111.1.282: 1v.iii.39, v.ii.149, last two at end of line), *inioyed* (D1b, 11.iii.22, at end of line). The passage at F3a, 111.1.282 most scholars consider to be corrupt; we can leave it out of consideration here. With regard to *inioyed*, it may be pertinent to point out that in this context there are three lines ending *supposde*, *inioyed*, *surprisde*. It might be in accord with the lyrical nature of this speech to suppose that Shakespeare intended to obviate the monotony of three successive lines ending in a heavily accented dissyllable by inserting a light feminine ending *inioyé*.

Otherwise *dide* occurs three times (C1a, D4a, end line, H3a, 1.390, 11.iii.171, 1v.iv.54), *died* as monosyllable (C1a, E3a, 1.377, 111.1.11), *espied* occurs twice (D2a, end line, D4a, 11.iii.48, 194). It is curious that *sued* has two syllables (C2a, 1.1.453) and *glued* one (C3b, 11.1.41).

Secondly, monosyllables ending in *-ire*, *-our*, *-ower* are frequently expanded to dissyllables in Elizabethan poetry. When Harington expanded in this way, the spelling showed it. The usage in *Titus* varies. When *fire* is a dissyllable, the text has *fire* (B1a, 1.1.127). It has *flowers* as a monosyllable (D4b (end line), H3b, 11.iii.201, 1v.iv.71). On the other hand *flowred* is an adjective, two syllables (H4b, v.i.15),

deflowred, three syllables (E2b, II.iv.26), at the end of the line *de-flowerde* (K2b, v.iii.38). For *hour* the text has only *howres*, *houre/s*, although on three occasions it is stretched to two syllables (E1a, E3a, F2a, II.iii.256, II.iv.54, III.i.192). In all these three cases Harington would have written *hower*. With *power* the text makes a distinction:

Had I the powre that some say Dian had (D2b, II.iii.61).

If any power pitties wretched teares (F2a, III.i.209).

At the end of the line the text reads *powre* (F3b, III.i.300), *power* (C1b, H3a, I.i.403, IV.iv.63). We have *showers* as a monosyllable (K4a, v.iii.161) in the middle of the line, *showres* at the end (E3a, III.i.18).

Occasionally the text of *Titus* marks elision by an apostrophe; as *lou'd* (D4a, K4a, II.iii.167, v.iii.161), *damn'd* (F4a, IV.i.36), *surpriz'd* (F4b, IV.i.51), *eu'n* (K4b, v.iii.172). It is interesting to note that *moved*, *even*, *given*, *heaven* are frequently elided in *Titus* and yet the compositor marks the elision with *v* only twice. Harington regularly marked the elision of a vowel in this position. If Shakespeare had marked it with the same strictness as Harington, I find it hard to believe that the compositor would have ignored him.

It is clear that the compositor of Harington's *Orlando* was concerned to take over the metrical spellings he found in the verse parts of *Orlando*. He had two rules of procedure: to follow the copy closely in verse, loosely in prose. In all Elizabethan poetry, so far as I have examined it, there is the same strict attention to metrical spelling. Now metrical spelling is the business of the poet; only he can decide how the line is to scan. Wherever we find a system of metrical spelling, then, we can with reason infer that it is the work of the poet, not of the compositor—that it is in fact from the copy. The text of Qo1 of *Titus* is full of metrical spellings which distinguish clearly between the elided and the full forms. I submit that these metrical spellings are the planned and designed work of the poet, of Shakespeare, and that where they occur in the printed text, the compositor has taken them over from his copy.

Let us return to Dr. Walker. Her enthusiasm for the Old Cambridge editors is somewhat puzzling. They are, she would have us

believe, the wiser heads who never supposed the spelling of printed books was the author's.¹⁷ In view of what we have established about the authenticity of metrical spellings, let us watch the Old Cambridge editors at work (I quote from the 1864 edition). In Sonnet 18 they change the rhymes *ow'st: grow'st* to *owest: grow'st*. In *Lucrece* they take the line "An expir'd date cancel'd ere well begunne" (1.26), and keep *cancel'd* but change *expird* to *expired*. They twice change *intrest* to *interest* (*Venus* 210, *Lucrece* 1067). Sonnet 114 has *flattery* as a trisyllable, *flatry* as a dissyllable. The Cambridge editors print *flattery* both times. To tamper with the text of *Venus* or *Lucrece* requires a great deal of confidence in one's own wisdom. Shakespeare presumably read the proofs of the two poems that he so importantly dedicated to Southampton.

The strange fate that overtakes Shakespearean spellings may be illustrated from the verb *carouse*. The word goes back ultimately to German *gar aus*, and the NED found no evidence that its final *s* became voiced to *z* before the middle of the seventeenth century. Now *caroused* is twice spelled with *-st* in Shakespearean quartos, *carowst* in *Richard II* 11.1.127 (*-st* in all five quartos, see Black, Variorum Ed., 1955, p. 112). Fol reads *carows'd*. Then there is *caroust* in the Qo of *Othello* 11.iii.55, where Fol reads *carrows'd*. The spelling *-s'd* does not in the Folio necessarily indicate a voiced sound *zd*. (Cf. *Leas'd* in *Rich. II*, 11.1.59.) In the case of *carouse*, modern editions (including of course the Old Cambridge) usually read *caroused*, and this is the reading Dr. Walker has chosen in her edition of *Othello*. Neilson, Kittredge, and Alexander read *carous'd*, which is an approach to the truth. But the only pronunciation Shakespeare knew or wanted was *caroust*, and this is the form that ought to be printed. The Folio form is simply the erratic vagary of the compositor.

I submit that if we are to understand the printing of one edition, we must study many other editions. To estimate what a compositor was likely to do and the standards he set for himself, we must know compositors in general. To know what sort of copy a poet or a dramatist sent to the press we must study the printed text of many poems and many dramas. This appears to be so self-evident that I hesitate

¹⁷ *loc. cit.*, p. 4.

to state it. Finally, if we wish to obtain a text as near to Shakespeare as possible, one that reflects as closely as possible the line he wished us to hear, then we must give to Shakespeare's language a much more earnest and reasoned study than editors have up till now considered necessary.

Bibliographical Notes

Some Contributions to the Bibliography of John Masefield: I

The bibliography of John Masefield prepared by Charles H. Simmons and published in 1930 by the Columbia University Press was accurate, extensive, and attractively organized and presented. There were, however, the almost inevitable omissions and small errors. Additions to the bibliography are printed in this issue of PBSA: they are a list of 318 book reviews which Masefield contributed to the *Manchester Guardian*. These reviews offer significant information about one aspect of Masefield's literary activity during the earlier years of his career. Two articles concerning this material, both by Fraser Drew, have recently appeared: in *Philological Quarterly* xxxvii, 1 (Jan. 1958), the reviews are discussed generally; in *Modern Language Notes* lxxii, 2 (Feb. 1957), evidence concerning the genesis of Masefield's long narrative poem, *Dauber*, is presented.

In the next issue of this journal three short lists of errata and addenda for the Simmons bibliography will be printed.

Book Reviews Published in the "Manchester Guardian"

The following book reviews were written by John Masefield and published in the *Manchester Guardian* between 1903 and 1923. Many are unsigned, but in each case Masefield's authorship has been authenticated by the *Manchester Guardian* (in a letter of 3 Aug. 1951).

26 Aug. 1903	Spendthrift Summer	unsigned
2 Sept. 1903	In the Heart of a Caprice	unsigned
30 Sept. 1903	The Enthusiast	unsigned
14 Oct. 1903	His Leonora	unsigned
9 Dec. 1903	Sea Wrack	unsigned
22 Dec. 1903	From Paris to New York	unsigned
21 Jan. 1904	Hernando de Soto	unsigned
4 Feb. 1904	A Tramp in Spain	unsigned
22 Mar. 1904	Three Years in Klondyke	unsigned
23 Mar. 1904	Myra of the Pines	unsigned
24 Mar. 1904	Thro' Highlands of Siberia	unsigned
6 Apr. 1904	Story of Tonby	unsigned
20 Apr. 1904	Tussock Land	unsigned
18 May 1904	The Way of the Sea	unsigned
26 May 1904	Deep Sea Vagabonds	unsigned

14 June 1904	Around the World with a King	unsigned
1 July 1904	Specialist in Crime	unsigned
14 Sept. 1904	Ladder of Swords	unsigned
5 Oct. 1904	Food of the Gods	unsigned
12 Oct. 1904	Shellback's Progress	unsigned
14 Oct. 1904	Sea Puritans	unsigned
19 Oct. 1904	Winged Destiny	unsigned
21 Oct. 1904	Sons o' Men	unsigned
24 Oct. 1904	Imaginary Obligations	unsigned
29 Oct. 1904	A Treatise Upon Duelling	J. M.
2 Nov. 1904	Life in a Crack Regiment	unsigned
28 Nov. 1904	Izaak Walton's Lives	J. M.
14 Dec. 1904	Two Poachers	J. M.
20 Dec. 1904	Sir Walter Raleigh	J. M.
19 Apr. 1905	The Bell and the Arrow	unsigned
3 May 1905	Harvest of the Sea	unsigned
5 May 1905	Travelling Thomas	J. M.
19 May 1905	Lure of Labrador Wild	unsigned
9 June 1905	The Wild Irishman	unsigned
21 June 1905	Isidre	J. M.
22 June 1905	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 3, 4)	unsigned
29 June 1905	Bucking the Sage-brush	unsigned
3 July 1905	Old Shipmates of Salem	unsigned
24 July 1905	20 Years in the Far East	unsigned
21 Aug. 1905	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 5, 6)	J. Masefield
30 Aug. 1905	The Black Barque	J. M.
19 Sept. 1905	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 7, 8)	J. M.
27 Sept. 1905	Partners of the Trade	J. M.
10 Oct. 1905	In Search of Eldorado	unsigned
16 Oct. 1905	Notes from My South Sea Log	unsigned
17 Oct. 1905	Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers	unsigned
19 Oct. 1905	Flood, Fell and Forest	unsigned
25 Oct. 1905	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 7, 8) [<i>sic</i>]	J. M.
10 Nov. 1905	Back to Sunny Seas	unsigned
4 Dec. 1905	History of British Columbia	unsigned
5 Dec. 1905	Reminiscences of Many Lands	unsigned
12 Dec. 1905	Jungle Trails	unsigned
15 Dec. 1905	Nelsonian Reminiscences	unsigned
18 Dec. 1905	Forgotten John Russell	unsigned
26 Dec. 1905	The Spanish Settlements	unsigned
8 Jan. 1906	The St. Lawrence River	unsigned
22 Jan. 1906	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 9, 10)	unsigned
9 Mar. 1906	Sea Spray	J. M.

12 Mar. 1906	Mast and Sail	unsigned
27 Mar. 1906	Old Sea Chanties	unsigned
28 Mar. 1906	Jack Derringer	J. M.
4 Apr. 1906	Out of Gloucester	J. M.
11 May 1906	A Tramp Camp	unsigned
1 June 1906	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 11, 12)	unsigned
5 June 1906	Heroes in Exile	unsigned
12 July 1906	The Opal Sea	unsigned
19 July 1906	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 13, 14)	unsigned
18 Sept. 1906	Purchas His Pilgrimes (vols. 15, 16)	unsigned
25 Sept. 1906	Celebrated Crimes	unsigned
27 Sept. 1906	Links in My Life	unsigned
3 Oct. 1906	Frank Brown	J. M.
10 Oct. 1906	Moon Face	J. M.
16 Oct. 1906	Mr. Conrad's "Mirror of the Sea"	J. M.
19 Oct. 1906	Mr. Belloc's "Hills and the Sea"	J. M.
25 Oct. 1906	Christopher Columbus and the New World of His Discovery	J. M.
26 Oct. 1906	Lithgow's Travels	J. M.
29 Oct. 1906	Time and the Gods	unsigned
31 Oct. 1906	Whaling in Many Seas	unsigned
2 Nov. 1906	Eothen	unsigned
7 Nov. 1906	Camp Fires	unsigned
21 Nov. 1906	Sir Nigel	J. M.
27 Nov. 1906	Our Heritage of the Sea	unsigned
3 Dec. 1906	Sea Songs	unsigned
28 Dec. 1906	Ancient and Modern Ships	unsigned
9 Jan. 1907	Howell and Pepys	unsigned
16 Jan. 1907	Popular Ballads	unsigned
6 Mar. 1907	The Belted Seas	J. M.
20 Mar. 1907	Poison Island	J. M.
25 Mar. 1907	A Great Adventurer	J. M.
3 May 1907	A Sea Dog of Devon	unsigned
28 May 1907	Capt. J. Cook	unsigned
29 May 1907	The Daft Days	J. M.
17 June 1907	Purchas His Pilgrimes (last vol.)	unsigned
21 June 1907	Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen	unsigned
27 June 1907	Reed Anthony	unsigned
12 July 1907	The Savage South Sea	unsigned
22 July 1907	An Innocent Adventure	J. M.
25 July 1907	The Sea Charm of Venice	unsigned
4 Sept. 1907	In the First Watch	J. M.
18 Sept. 1907	Act of God	J. M.

27 Sept. 1907	The Turnpike Sailor	unsigned
2 Oct. 1907	The Call of the Deep	J. M.
9 Oct. 1907	The Way of the Sea <i>and</i> Genteel A. B.	J. M.
29 Oct. 1907	Pirates of Malabar	unsigned
30 Oct. 1907	City of Pleasure	J. M.
31 Oct. 1907	Strange South Seas	unsigned
7 Nov. 1907	From Sail to Steam	unsigned
11 Nov. 1907	Champions of the Fleet	unsigned
13 Nov. 1907	Arizona Nights	J. M.
18 Nov. 1907	Michael Drayton (Poems)	unsigned
4 Dec. 1907	The Broken Road	J. M.
10 Jan. 1908	The Royal Navy	unsigned
13 Jan. 1908	With the Border Ruffians	unsigned
22 Jan. 1908	Sandy Carmichael	J. M.
29 Jan. 1908	The Anchorage	J. M.
25 Mar. 1908	Colonel Kate	J. M.
1 Apr. 1908	Tables of Stone	J. M.
9 Apr. 1908	Sport of the Pacific Coast	unsigned
10 Apr. 1908	Search for the Western Sea	unsigned
15 Apr. 1908	Marozid	J. M.
28 Apr. 1908	Naval Ballads	J. M.
3 May 1908	Autobiography of a Super-tramp	unsigned
20 May 1908	Before Adam	J. M.
25 May 1908	Australia	unsigned
29 May 1908	Cradle of the Deep	unsigned
24 June 1908	The Adventurer	J. M.
13 July 1908	North West Passage	unsigned
15 July 1908	Jack Spurlock	J. M.
3 Sept. 1908	North Foreland to Penzance	unsigned
8 Sept. 1908	Great Ralegh	unsigned
15 Sept. 1908	Confessions of a Beachcomber	unsigned
23 Sept. 1908	Young Nemesis	J. M.
28 Sept. 1908	Mariner of England	unsigned
12 Oct. 1908	The Londons of the Fleet	unsigned
14 Oct. 1908	Desire	J. M.
21 Oct. 1908	Dank Corners	J. M.
23 Oct. 1908	Encyclopaedia of Ships	J. M.
28 Oct. 1908	The Last Voyage	J. M.
4 Dec. 1908	Famous Duels of the Fleet	unsigned
9 Dec. 1908	The Pearl Divers	J. M.
5 Jan. 1909	The Inner Life of the Navy	unsigned
22 Feb. 1909	The British Tar	J. M.
12 Mar. 1909	Signals and Instructions	unsigned

16 Mar. 1909	Bartholomew de las Casas	unsigned
17 Mar. 1909	Seekers	J. M.
22 Mar. 1909	Travels in the Island of Cyprus	unsigned
24 Mar. 1909	The Three Brothers	J. M.
30 Mar. 1909	Gentleman Errant	unsigned
31 Mar. 1909	The Yellow God	J. M.
1 Apr. 1909	My Restless Life	unsigned
2 Apr. 1909	Tales Within Tales	unsigned
7 Apr. 1909	Green Finch Cruise	J. M.
27 Apr. 1909	Sloops of the Hudson	unsigned
5 May 1909	Peter Vandy	J. M.
21 May 1909	In Side Tracks and Bridlepaths	unsigned
17 June 1909	Yachting on the Pacific	unsigned
2 July 1909	Nelson and Other Naval Studies	unsigned
6 July 1909	Three Foot Stool	unsigned
12 July 1909	The Great Lakes	unsigned
13 July 1909	The Golden Town	unsigned
21 July 1909	The Third Circle	J. M.
28 July 1909	Watchers by the Shore	J. M.
9 Aug. 1909	Mexican Trails	unsigned
13 Aug. 1909	The Nelson Whom Britons Love	unsigned
20 Aug. 1909	Sailing Ships and Their Story	unsigned
25 Aug. 1909	Lords of the Sea	J. M.
11 Oct. 1909	Fernando Cortez	unsigned
27 Oct. 1909	Sheriff [<i>sic</i>] of Dyke Hole	J. M.
28 Oct. 1909	Life Among the Bluejackets	unsigned
4 Nov. 1909	The Merry Past	unsigned
9 Nov. 1909	Golden Treasury of Australian Verse	unsigned
10 Nov. 1909	Cut Off From the World	J. M.
16 Nov. 1909	The True History	unsigned
17 Nov. 1909	Ghost Pirates	J. M.
17 Feb. 1910	New Account of India and Persia	unsigned
18 Feb. 1910	Land of the Golden Trade	unsigned
2 Mar. 1910	Cummer's Son	unsigned
7 Mar. 1910	Fighting the Slave Hunters	unsigned
1 Apr. 1910	The Navy of Venice	unsigned
5 Apr. 1910	King's Visit to Canada	unsigned
19 Apr. 1910	Privateers and Privateering	unsigned
25 Apr. 1910	History of the Ballads	unsigned
17 May 1910	Riders of the Plains	unsigned
7 June 1910	Romance of American Navy	unsigned
15 June 1910	A New Writer	J. M.
20 June 1910	Rampart of Empire	unsigned

24 June 1910	Diary of a Soldier of Fortune	unsigned
19 July 1910	Vagabond Journey Round the World	unsigned
20 July 1910	The Twisted Foot	J. M.
21 July 1910	A Sailor's Book	J. M.
31 Aug. 1910	Hyena of Kalla	J. M.
28 Sept. 1910	My Lady of Intrigue	J. M.
27 Oct. 1910	Buccaneers in the West Indies	unsigned
28 Oct. 1910	Alongshore	unsigned
8 Nov. 1910	Letters of English Seamen	unsigned
23 Nov. 1910	True Stories of the Past	J. M.
25 Nov. 1910	Ship o'Men	unsigned
30 Nov. 1910	Bracken	J. M.
8 Dec. 1910	Sea Wolves of the Mediterranean	unsigned
5 Jan. 1911	Shakespeare's Sea Terms Explained	unsigned
18 Jan. 1911	The Mountain of God	J. M.
2 Feb. 1911	King's Customs	unsigned
15 Feb. 1911	The Woman on the Threshold	J. M.
1 Mar. 1911	Mothers and Fathers	J. M.
10 Mar. 1911	British Guiana	unsigned
10 Mar. 1911	Captain Cook	John Masefield
20 Mar. 1911	An Egyptian Story	John Masefield
22 Mar. 1911	The Trail of '98	J. M.
27 Mar. 1911	A New Marine Magazine	John Masefield
5 Apr. 1911	Love and Treasure Laden	J. M.
19 Apr. 1911	The Downfall of the Gods	J. M.
20 Apr. 1911	Poetry of Today	John Masefield
26 Apr. 1911	Ailsa Page	J. M.
1 May 1911	Famous Sea Fights	unsigned
10 May 1911	Wells Brothers	J. M.
12 May 1911	The Drake Family	John Masefield
24 May 1911	Ship of Coral	J. M.
29 May 1911	English Factories in India	unsigned
31 May 1911	Ship of Solace	J. M.
14 June 1911	The Escape Agents	J. M.
26 June 1911	Captain Kidd	John Masefield
4 July 1911	Nelsons of Burnham Thorpe	unsigned
7 Aug. 1911	A Childish History	John Masefield
14 Aug. 1911	Letters of Lord Banham	unsigned
16 Aug. 1911	Our Lady of the Leopards	J. M.
24 Aug. 1911	Early Spanish Voyages	unsigned
13 Sept. 1911	Margaret Harding	J. M.
20 Sept. 1911	Red Eve	J. M.
27 Sept. 1911	Unofficial Honeymoon	J. M.

4 Oct. 1911	Captivity	J. M.
17 Oct. 1911	Australian Verse	John Masefield
23 Oct. 1911	The Surgeon's Log	John Masefield
15 Nov. 1911	A South Sea Buccaneer	J. M.
21 Nov. 1911	Dr. Nansen's Book	John Masefield
4 Dec. 1911	Trooper Police of Australia	unsigned
7 Dec. 1911	John Boyes	unsigned
27 Dec. 1911	Yellow Men and Gold	J. M.
5 Jan. 1912	Naval Prints	unsigned
8 Jan. 1912	Memories of Old Gloucestershire	unsigned
17 Jan. 1912	Capt. Quadring	J. M.
31 Jan. 1912	A Night of Fires	J. M.
7 Feb. 1912	Marie	J. M.
21 Feb. 1912	The Room in the Tower	J. M.
26 Feb. 1912	Forty-two Poems	J. M.
8 Mar. 1912	East India Company	unsigned
11 Mar. 1912	Life of Lord Anson	unsigned
12 Mar. 1912	The Real Capt. Cleveland	unsigned
20 Mar. 1912	When God Laughs	J. M.
8 May 1912	The Vicar of Normanton	J. M.
14 May 1912	The Cape of Adventure	unsigned
21 May 1912	My Life at Sea	unsigned
30 May 1912	Meteorology	unsigned
30 May 1912	The Life Boat and its Story	unsigned
5 June 1912	Adventures of Miss Gregory	J. M.
18 June 1912	Book of Knowledge of all Kingdoms	unsigned
19 June 1912	Capt. Unafraid	J. M.
21 June 1912	A Soldier's Sailing	unsigned
12 Aug. 1912	The Science of the Sea	unsigned
13 Aug. 1912	Naval Miscellany	unsigned
14 Aug. 1912	Heart of the West	J. M.
4 Sept. 1912	Haunting Shadows	J. M.
11 Sept. 1912	The Marriage of Kettle	J. M.
25 Sept. 1912	M. Carnafex	J. M.
9 Oct. 1912	The Veldt Dwellers	J. M.
16 Oct. 1912	Joseph Conrad: "Twixt Land and Sea"	J. M.
21 Oct. 1912	Werwolves	unsigned
22 Oct. 1912	Essays on John Falstaff	unsigned
31 Oct. 1912	The Master Mariners	unsigned
6 Nov. 1912	The Keynote	J. M.
19 Nov. 1912	British Battle Fleet	unsigned
23 Dec. 1912	The Outlaw Ballads	unsigned
26 Dec. 1912	South Sea Tales	J. M.

13 Jan. 1913	The Sea and the Jungle	unsigned
30 Jan. 1913	The First Dutch War	unsigned
3 Feb. 1913	Conquest of New Spain	unsigned
5 Mar. 1913	Lifted Curtains	J. M.
14 Mar. 1913	Nelson in England	unsigned
8 July 1913	Wm. Hickey	unsigned
10 July 1913	The War in Quito	unsigned
16 July 1913	Secret of Sarm	J. M.
17 July 1913	Antarctic Days	unsigned
18 July 1913	Papers re Loss of Minorca	unsigned
23 Aug. 1913	English Merchants and Spanish Inquisition	unsigned
27 Aug. 1913	Naval Tracts	unsigned
28 Aug. 1913	The King's Ships (vol. 1)	John Masefield
18 Sept. 1913	Lightships and Lighthouses	unsigned
24 Oct. 1913	From Naval Cadet to Admiral	unsigned
27 Oct. 1913	Campfire Yarns	unsigned
5 Nov. 1913	The Bankrupt	J. M.
26 Nov. 1913	Writ in Water	J. M.
28 Nov. 1913	The Sailors Nelson Led	unsigned
17 Dec. 1913	Cockpit of Europe	J. M.
26 Dec. 1913	Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts	unsigned
20 Jan. 1914	Back to the Sea	unsigned
23 Jan. 1914	The King's Ships (vol. 2)	John Masefield
26 Jan. 1914	Shakespeare as Playwright	unsigned
13 Feb. 1914	Court Minutes of East India Company	unsigned
3 Mar. 1914	Golden Age of Prince Henry	J. M.
4 Mar. 1914	War	J. M.
6 Mar. 1914	Old Scots Navy	unsigned
12 Mar. 1914	Cathay and the Way Thither	unsigned
25 Mar. 1914	Time and Thos. Waring	J. M.
12 May 1914	China Clippers	John Masefield
3 June 1914	Private Affairs	J. M.
16 June 1914	Quest of Emissaries of Spain	unsigned
1 July 1914	Fear of Living	J. M.
8 Sept. 1914	Peter Mundy	J. M.
12 Nov. 1914	The Clean Heart	J. M.
9 Feb. 1915	Prisoners of War in Britain	unsigned
30 Mar. 1915	Prisoners of War in France	unsigned
13 Apr. 1915	The King's Ships	J. M.
25 May 1915	Life of Capt. Flinders	unsigned
1 June 1915	Old East Indiamen	unsigned
14 Nov. 1918	The Most Heroic Effort	John Masefield
19 Dec. 1919	The Tale of Anthony Bell	John Masefield

16 Feb. 1922	Disenchantment	John Masefield
19 Sept. 1923	The Lookout Man	John Masefield
16 Oct. 1923	Ship Models	John Masefield

FRASER BRAGG DREW

State University of New York
College for Teachers, Buffalo

The Second Edition of Celio Bichi's "Decisiones"

In 1671 the press of the Reverenda Camera Apostolica in Rome issued in two folio volumes the *Decisiones* of the Holy Roman Rota which had been drawn up by the then Auditor, a Sieneese nobleman named Coelius Bichius (Celio Bichi). The work begins with an epistle addressed to Celio Piccolomini, Cardinal Archbishop of Siena, dated from Rome on 31 August 1671, and signed by Zenobius Masottus, the printer of the Apostolic Camera. The privilege had been given by Alexander VII as long ago as 14 December 1663. The decisions cover the period from 1631 to 1656. The British Museum bought a set of this edition in July 1868, having already in January 1850 purchased a set of the second edition, printed in 1673. It is this second edition which is of interest to the bibliographer as well as the historian.

For some years past I have been working on a history of printing at Siena up to 1700. It was therefore with some surprise that I saw the entry in the British Museum General Catalogue for the second edition of Bichi's *Decisiones*, giving the place of publication as [Sienna]. The briefest glance at the title page of the book itself was sufficient to show that it was not printed at Siena, the reason for my predecessors of a hundred years ago having assigned it to that town being evidently based on no more factual evidence than that Bichi was a Sieneese and that the epistle dedicatory was addressed to a Sieneese Cardinal, Celio Piccolomini. In this second edition we still find the preface of Zenobius Masottus, but this time his name and the place of writing (Rome) have been carefully omitted. On the title page is the imprint "Sumptibus Leonardi Chouët. M.DC.LXXIII.," and above it a large rectangular device containing a salamander.¹ This shows at

¹ The device is copied from one used previously at Geneva in the same century by Alexander Pernet. This salamander device is of Lyonnese origin, the first forms of it having been used by the Senneton brothers at Lyons in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In the *Catalogus universalis librorum qui reperiuntur in Officinâ Joann. Anthonii Chouët Bibliopolæ Genevensis*, Geneva, Joannis Anthonii [sic] Chouët, 1685, there is a small salamander device on the title page, similar in style to that of the 1673 *Decisiones*. Incidentally the only edition of the *Decisiones* which this catalogue advertises (among the Libri Juridici on p. 24) is a four-volume edition printed at Lyons in 1618. This may suggest that our 1673 edition was not on sale in Geneva.

once that the book must have been printed at Geneva, for the Chouëts were a well-known family of publishers and booksellers in that city, and the device is no. 36 in Paul Heitz, *Genfer Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen im xv., xvi. und xvii. Jahrhundert* (Strassburg, 1908), being recorded there as used in books printed "sumptibus et typis Samuelis Chouët" in 1664, in books published by Leonard Chouët in 1665 and 1681, and by him and his partners in 1679-87. Even if the printers of the second edition were anxious to remove all traces of Rome from the preface, they could not have been particularly anxious to disguise the book's true place of origin, since they left their device and the publisher's name on the title page. We may ask ourselves why an official Vatican publication should have appeared in so eminently Protestant a city as Geneva. Why should the book have been taken out of Italy at all for reprinting?

As I cannot find any evidence of a current of Catholic feeling passing over Geneva at that time, I am inclined to think that the book was printed there for economic reasons. Certainly it is known that books could often be produced more cheaply at Geneva than in many of the large printing centers. Presumably the publisher decided to take it upon himself to bring out a new edition, which may have been "for export only." The omission of the name of any town from the title page was probably a deliberate attempt to prevent Italian users of the book from seeing too quickly that it had been printed abroad, while the omission of the word "Romae" and the original Vatican printer's name from the end of the preface argues in favor of the publisher's honesty. The book most probably came from the printing-press of the Chouëts themselves, although it does not actually say so.

DENNIS E. RHODES

The British Museum

News and Notes

Although the problems of manuscript librarians and curators become greater with each passing year, editors who contemplate the publication of all available letters written by and to a figure of international reputation might do well to follow the example of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin in its edition of the correspondence of Johann Georg Adam Forster (1754-94). Forster came to England from near Danzig at an early age and sailed the world with Captain Cook at the age of eighteen; in his later years he was a naturalist, author, and librarian. Because many libraries do not list letters by the name of the recipient the Akademie has printed a list of the names of about 350 individuals and firms who are known to have written letters to Forster; this is being distributed in the United States by the representative of the edition, Professor Robert L. Kahn of the University of Washington. This list goes into a pile of lists to be checked in libraries where the labor involved seems at all worthwhile; in others it may be thought of fleetingly as Teutonic precision in the field of letters.



The Overbrook Press in Stamford, Connecticut, was founded in 1934—twenty-five years ago. This is a fact worthy of comment, for comparatively few private presses in America or elsewhere have lasted so long or have so consistently produced printed work of taste and quality. Strictly defined by John Carter, a private press is one in which the proprietor decides what to print and how it shall be printed. Frank Altschul, founder and proprietor of Overbrook, has adhered to this definition while giving comfortable rein to such leading designers and illustrators as T. M. Cleland, Margaret B. Evans, Valenti Angelo, Rudolph Ruzicka, and W. A. Dwiggins, all of whom have done significant work for the press. Many of the items produced at Overbrook have been addresses and articles of historical, political, or educational significance, following the interests and activities of Mr. Altschul; literary productions have included works by George Meredith, Robert Louis Stevenson, Anatole France, and Robert Nathan.

Earlier this year The Overbrook Press issued what has already been called "one of the finest if not the finest book produced in the United States." It is the *Histoire du Chevalier Des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* par l'Abbé Prévost, with illustrations and decorations by T. M. Cleland. These imaginative and colorful illustrations were produced by the silk screen process entirely operated in every detail by the hand of the artist. No book has ever been produced in America in

this fashion, according to Mr. Cleland; it took him over six years to complete the remarkable achievement.

Later this year The Overbrook Press will publish a summary of its work in the form of a history and a bibliography. Few libraries or private collectors appear to have collections of Overbrook publications in anything approaching completeness (over 200 books, pamphlets, and broadsides have been issued) and this volume should be of considerable interest to all of them.



Notes on Work in Progress have arrived from a number of sources and this editor is grateful to all who have responded to the request for information made in the last issue. Coolie Verner, 715 East Georgia, Tallahassee, Florida, is preparing a detailed catalogue of the printed maps of Virginia to 1800 which will give a detailed carto-bibliographical description of each map—and to date he has studied well over 1,000 of them. Edward F. Grier, The University of Kansas, would appreciate hearing from persons who own or know the whereabouts of Whitman manuscripts with a view to their inclusion in his edition of the notebooks (verse or prose) and the prose manuscripts; New York University Press, very much a center of Whitman scholarship, will publish the edition. Bradford F. Swan of the *Providence Journal* is making additions and corrections to John Alden's *Bibliography of Rhode Island Imprints 1727-1800* for eventual publication in these PAPERS; he is also interested in the location of any copies not recorded in Alden. Hazel A. Johnson, Librarian of the Connecticut College Library, is continuing work on a bibliography of Connecticut printing on which considerable work has already been done; the project is limited to New London County and will cover the years 1709-1820. Marvin R. Cain, Assistant Director of the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection at the University of Missouri, is gathering material for a biography of Edward Bates, Lincoln's first Attorney General and an adopted son of Missouri. Needless to say, these individuals will be grateful for any information concerning their subjects that BSA members may be able to give them.



The study of independent historical societies which Walter Muir Whitehill, Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, will begin in October under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, is one which could have far-reaching effects. Many of these societies are in sorry financial condition and no solution of this basic problem is in sight. One vital point to which Mr. White-

hill will pay particular attention is the contribution of the historical society to the cultural life of the United States during the past century and a half. For many of these years it was the societies and the private collectors who shared the responsibility of preserving this nation's heritage of important book and manuscript materials. When Mr. Whitehill's report (probably book length) is published, the general public as well as the genealogist and historian will know more of the traditional rôle that the historical societies continue to play in our civilization and, it is hoped, all will rally to their support.



The term "Rare Book Room" or "Rare Book Division" has come into almost official usage in American libraries where manuscripts and collections of books answering to the description of "rare" are not housed in a room or building bearing a memorial name. Nearly twenty years ago Harvard retired the name "Treasure Room" and now The New York Public Library has changed the name of its Reserve Division to the Rare Book Division. This will lessen confusion for the uninitiated even though, unofficially, this collection has been known as the Rare Book Division for many years. Changing the name of a division is not so bad as changing the name of a hotel, but at NYPL there is considerable activity in remodelling signs, printed forms, and rubber stamps.



For those students of American literature who did not see the announcements in the daily press or in other periodicals, the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, received in May from the firm of Harper & Brothers an extensive file of correspondence and manuscripts written to and for them by well-known authors, artists, and public figures, mostly during the years 1845-90. Over 1,200 of the letters, including some from Herman Melville, James Jackson Jarves, Carl Schurz, Howard Pyle, and Jacob Abbott, have not been used by scholars, and the manuscripts which include work by Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Thomas Hardy, and George Du Maurier seem to have been studied only in part.

Book Reviews

BOGSCH, ARPAD. *Universal Copyright Convention*. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1958. xxii, 279 pp. \$12.00.

This book provides an analysis and commentary on the Universal Copyright Convention: it lists each Article and gives Dr. Bogsch's interpretation.

The technical analysis of the meaning of terms of each of the Articles of the convention is exceedingly important to those who want to make any use of this convention whatsoever. There are such great differences in the use of terms in this convention as compared with copyright practice in the United States that mistaken use of words considered interchangeable will, in many cases, lead to very faulty conclusions. This consideration makes Dr. Bogsch's work of primary importance to copyright lawyers rather than to administrators of libraries. While no better person than Dr. Bogsch could have been found to do this work (he acted as the secretary of the UNESCO-Geneva Conference, has been associated with the copyright division of UNESCO from 1948 to 1954, and has since been legal advisor to the U. S. Copyright Office), there will still be the inevitable differences of opinion among lawyers on his interpretation of some of the terms. In the final analysis these can only be interpreted by the courts in the light of specific cases.

It should be emphasized that the book must be used carefully by copyright lawyers and, despite its great value to the technician in the field of copyright, it will not be of any more general popular usefulness than is any other legal textbook.

The book is attractively manufactured in offset from IBM composition, with justified right-hand margins. In view of its very specialized nature and its limitation to the trained legal fraternity, it can be highly recommended for law libraries and copyright lawyers, but is not recommended for general library collections.

RALPH R. SHAW

Rutgers University

BUCKLEY, AMELIA KING. *The Keeneland Association Library: A Guide to the Collection*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1958. xviii, 206 pp. illus. \$12.00.

If racing be, as it is regularly billed, the sport of kings, the printed record of

its story should have a place of honor in bibliography. But there is surprisingly little bibliography devoted to the turf. Its place in the bibliographical world has been usurped by representations of such less active hobbies as the collecting of jade, paintings, books on tobacco, Napoleon, or the Civil War; or by the more contemplative sport of angling.

Amelia King Buckley's *The Keeneland Association Library* is a big step in the right direction. It is a description of the special library on thoroughbred racing at the Keeneland Race Course, Lexington, Kentucky. Keeneland, according to Mrs. Buckley's introduction, "is the only racetrack in the United States which maintains, provides service in, and makes available to the public a comprehensive library of turf literature." While the presence of the library at Keeneland probably has little effect on track records, attendance at the races, or the figures on the tote board, it is certainly commendable that there is such a library somewhere.

The Keeneland Association Library is a young library. It was begun in 1939 with the gift from William Arnold Hanger of the collection of approximately two thousand volumes that had been assembled over twenty-five years by Robert James Trumbull of New York. It has been enlarged by gifts from Robert Livingston Gerry, Pierre Lorillard, and others. The collection includes a fine representation of volumes basic to its subject, periodicals, pamphlets, sales catalogues, broadsides, and other ephemeral material. Mrs. Buckley comments: "The value of the library has steadily increased with the growth of its collections and with their more thorough analysis, cataloguing, and evaluation. In addition, the increase in horse breeding as an industry and of racing as a spectator sport requires more intensive research on the part of a larger number of people." Her bibliography will aid considerably in making that research easier.

The collection is highlighted by such items as *The General Stud Book* in all its editions from 1808 to the present, a complete file of Reginald Heber's *An Historical List of Horse-Matches Run* (1752-59), *An Introduction to a General Stud-Book* (London, 1791), William Pick's *An Historical Account of All the Plates, Matches, and Sweepstakes, Run For at Newmarket, from the Year 1728* (York, 1770), and Georg Simon Winter's *Bellerophon, Hippiater Expertus*, and *Tiactatio Nova de Re Equario* (Norimbergae, 1768, 1768, and 1762). There is a nearly full file of *The Spirit of the Times*, good representation of books on farriery, a number of tout books, and exceptionally good files of sales catalogues. A title more intriguing for its political connotation than importance is Henry Martyn Blossom's *Checkers, A Hard-Luck Story* (Chicago, 1904).

The entries are full and exact in giving author and title information, but imprint data are in shortened form. (Query: Why do cataloguers assume they

have one whit more liberty in their way of listing a publisher's designation of his name than in listing an author's name?) "Library has" notes are used to show continuing runs of serials and for added editions. This may be a satisfactory working arrangement, but it is hardly the mark of scholarly bibliography. Cross-references are listed in the straight alphabetical arrangement of the bibliography. They have been supplied sufficiently, but not exhaustively. A "subject index" provides a useful guide by both subject and type of book.

Chief among the deficiencies of the book is the fact that only books and periodicals (with some few exceptions) are included in the bibliography. Mrs. Buckley notes: "Materials in the pamphlet file may be located through the pamphlet catalogue." This is not very helpful to a user of the bibliography, even though it be satisfactory to the researcher actually in the library. A less serious omission is that of a listing of stud posters.

An attractive feature of the volume is the reproduction in a sixteen-page section of illustrations of selections from the collection of sporting photographs taken by Charles Christian Cook from 1904 to 1952. The negatives of Cook's photographs total roughly fifteen thousand and are now a part of the Keeneland Association Library.

The Keeneland Association Library is an attractive, well-made volume, handsome without being extravagant in design. The form of individual bibliographical entry, however, is wasteful of space. Bibliographical clarity can easily be achieved without excessive use of large type or open space.

RICHARD B. HARWELL

American Library Association

CHILDS, J. RIVES. *Casanoviana: An Annotated World Bibliography of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt and of Works Concerning Him*. Vienna: Privately printed for the Casanova Society of Virginia, 1956. viii, 396 pp. \$12.50.

In his first bibliographical work, on Restif de la Bretonne, Mr. J. Rives Childs, formerly of the U. S. diplomatic service, contented himself with listing all the different editions of that prolific author's pen, plus all the critical material on Restif, adding a significant quotation from each authority. But in his latest volume, on Casanova, Mr. Childs has taken a step forward. He has given us an annotated bibliography.

Speaking for myself, I have always been annoyed with bibliographies that are mere lists, where the reader is thus denied the compiler's intimate acquaintance with the material because the latter's interest seemed to stop with the title page.

A student, seduced by a pompous title, is often sent on a wild-goose errand, tracking down a thoroughly worthless piece of material.

There is nothing like a properly annotated bibliography for unlocking a whole subject, laying it open in its every aspect. And this book does just that. The whole Casanova subject, the excitement of it, the points of dispute, and the positions taken by the various experts, are exposed in the most convenient and interesting manner, so that a tyro can be initiated in the briefest possible time.

The book is divided into several parts: the Memoirs, the history of the manuscript (or manuscripts), the many editions, translations, and variants, plus the several portfolios of illustrations that the Memoirs have evoked; Casanova's other published works and his correspondence; critical material on Casanova; and finally a list of the many creative works inspired by Casanova. With almost every title Mr. Childs has an important personal comment to make that illuminates it, so that we know at once whether it is a valuable study, a negligible piece, or even an erroneous one. There is room, too, for an occasional interesting anecdote.

Isn't it strange that Casanova, whose bibliography is now so extensive that it can fill a volume of 400 pages, and whose personality has had the magnetic appeal to call forth a vast amount of historical research, and whose *Memoirs* are so vivid that they have influenced writers as far apart as Zola and Schnitzler, should still not rate so much as a mention in a standard history of French literature, such as Lanson's? Is it possible that Jules Janin's opinion which Mr. Childs quotes, still prevails?

An Italian without modesty and without shame. His life is all that you would want of a dunghill, a ceaseless incest, an adultery from Paris to Rome, a fornication every day at every hour . . . He is vile to the point of being proud of it . . . The entire life of this vicious man was a holiday . . . To have had his just deserts he should have been imprisoned in the Madelonettes, in a prison for prostitutes, and whipped every day for his sins.

That was written in 1853. Some forty years later, Pierre Louÿs could still ask: "Why is it permissible for a woman to expose the upper part of her breasts, but not the lower part? Why is it proper to exhibit the masterpieces of Michel Angelo and Rubens, but not the masterpiece of God?"

I don't have the answer. But I do know that in many libraries today, where Nabokov's *Lolita* and Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* are to be found on the open shelves, Casanova is still carefully hidden away in the "enfer." Why?

GUY ENDORE

Los Angeles

DEKKER, THOMAS. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume III. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. 649 pp. \$10.50.

The appearance of the first volume of Professor Bowers' edition of Dekker's *Dramatic Works* in 1953 enunciated a new departure in the editing of Elizabethan texts, especially the texts of plays. This and the two succeeding volumes bid fair to become models, at least in some respects, for succeeding editors. The editor attempts to give the reader what the Elizabethan dramatist intended him to read, not what was actually left to him by careless printers, authors, and subsequent editors. This work, then, is the first extensive effort of one of our distinguished textual critics to illustrate his theories, to put, as it were, his knowledge to the proof.

In order to provide the proper text Professor Bowers has presented the reader not a diplomatic reprint or a modified type-facsimile, but a critical old-spelling text. By this he means a text which, on the basis of available bibliographical and paleographical evidence, best accomplishes the author's intention as worked out by an "ideal" early seventeenth-century printer. He considers what must have been the condition of the manuscript with which this printer had to work. He then normalizes the copy-text (always a copy of the first edition of the play) according to Elizabethan printing-house practices or the requirements of readability and consistency. Such method gives an "ideal" text, one which never did exist on paper—but only perhaps in the mind of the dramatist—for the copy-text would be far less "normal" than that furnished by Professor Bowers to the printer. His, then, is a reconstructed text, to be attempted only by the skilled textual critic, whose judgment is based on the widest familiarity with Elizabethan manuscripts, printed texts, and printing-house practices. Such theory of editing has its virtues; it has also its limitations.

A short prefatory essay in the first volume explains this textual theory, names what silent alterations are made, and gives the apparatus. Preceding each play is a "Textual Introduction." Then comes the text itself, with only departures from substantive readings recorded in the footnotes. Following the text are sufficient "Textual Notes" only to justify the rejection or retention of original readings; a summary of "Press Variants" derived from the collation of every available copy of each play, the "Emendations of Accidentals" in the copy-text (that is, readings which may affect the meaning, though not "substantively," such as capitalization, spelling, punctuation, etc.); and finally an "Historical Collation of Earlier Editions," in which is recorded "rejected copy-text substantive readings as listed in the footnotes, all rejected substantive variants in other editions before 1700 (but not modern texts), and also from these editions

an historical listing of selected variants which may be thought of as in some sense semi-substantive." In the footnotes are recorded only such emendations from editions after 1700 as are adopted by the editor. This is all.

As yet, Professor Bowers is concerned only with the texts—not with sources, dates (except as they appear on title pages), allusions, the author's life, stage history of the plays, elucidation of language, or history of criticism. He adopts without criticism the canon listed by Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage*, even though he admits that Dekker's canon is not an easy one. A spare and lean edition as it stands, it presents a clear, systematic, uncluttered, and judicious text. Its acceptance as authoritative depends upon the acceptance of the integrity, skill, and judgment of the editor.

And, paradoxically enough, perhaps the word *judgment* suggests the chief issue in this kind of editing. In the hands of an expert textual critic such as Professor Bowers, an old text will be so wisely reconstructed that we today will read more nearly what the writer intended than anyone before us; left to the hands of less skillful editors with less detective ability, we may very well not do so. For this sort of editing depends more than most upon the choices the editor makes, and the choices will inevitably be questioned. For instance, one may want to know what substantive emendations of later editors, such as Dyce or Dodsley, Professor Bowers has rejected. It would be very convenient to have them summarized, so that the judge could himself be judged. On the other hand, some will feel that conjectures about the possible condition of the manuscripts the printer had to work with and the explanations offered are at times (as, for example, in the "Textual Introduction" to *The Virgin Martyr*) too inconclusive to merit the space devoted to them. A similar objection may be raised to the lengthy analysis of proofreading which makes up most of the "Textual Introduction" of *Match Me in London*. Still other readers will object to Professor Bowers' failure to offer alternative theories relative to origins of texts, such as his saying that the text of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is "clearly" a memorial reconstruction, without considering other possibilities. Others may object that the editor has concerned himself with text only. Detective work on Elizabethan printing-houses is fascinating and helpful in reconstructing the text, but similar work in allied areas might likewise prove helpful in the same way. Can the text be so completely isolated from other editorial matters? Is it not possible that a restudy of Dekker's canon and another of his life, a review of the stage history of each of his plays and another of the sources for each, and the preparation of explanatory notes might conceivably contribute to the correctness of the text? This is not to say that we are not grateful for all good works, or even that Professor Bowers has not done all one specialist should be called upon to do.

It is to observe, however, that such additions as are here suggested, if made,

will greatly improve the usefulness of this remarkably fine work. Students of Elizabethan drama look forward not only to the completion of the texts of the remaining plays of the accepted canon and those doubtful plays promised in the first volume, but also to the other appurtenances which customarily come with the edited works of the Elizabethan playwright. In future we may look forward also to editions of a host of Elizabethan dramatists based on the textual principles here so well illustrated.

THOMAS B. STROUP

The University of Kentucky

DICKSON, SARAH AUGUSTA, *comp.* *Tobacco. A Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings Acquired Since 1942 in the Arents Tobacco Collection at the New York Public Library from 1507 to the Present. Part I, 1507-1571.* (Arents Tobacco Collection Publications, Nos. 7-12.) New York: The New York Public Library, 1958. 52 pp. 24 Plates. \$5.00.

In 1938, when the Library of Congress exhibited 351 books, manuscripts, and drawings relating to Tobacco in the possession of Mr. George Arents, Jr., the general public became aware for the first time of the existence of a great library devoted to the history, enjoyment, and criticism of the one plant indigenous to America that is more widely used than the potato. (One may speculate whether shelf space is to be provided for volumes of the *tobaccomastix* now in progress between some of the medical profession and the manufacturers and users.) The printed catalogue of this exhibition was followed by the publication, in an edition of 300 copies, of a sumptuous catalogue (four volumes, 1937-43; index volume, 1952) compiled by Jerome E. Brooks.

Wishing to share with others the enjoyment of these treasures, Mr. Arents deposited them in a specially furnished room in the New York Public Library, where they form part of the Reference Collection. The Tobacco Library doubled in size between 1944 and 1952, and under Mr. Arents' daily supervision it continues to grow in size and quality.

Compilation and publication of the first catalogue required twenty years. Should two decades more be allowed to pass, while copy was being prepared for a second catalogue? Not if human ingenuity could contrive a satisfactory alternative. And, happily, it has done so. "The difficulties in doing the research for, and in printing and illustrating, a manuscript of such length at first seemed almost insurmountable, if the work were to appear at one time," writes Mr. Arents in the preface. "On the other hand, by spreading the publication over a considerable period, it would be much easier to bring such a complex project to

completion. It was therefore decided to issue the new catalogue in parts, at intervals long enough to allow for careful preparation and printing. The format was to be like that of the earlier work, with similar paper and printing types." Under the editorship of Miss Sarah Augusta Dickson, Curator of the Collection and author of *Panacea or Precious Bane. Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature*, Part I of *Tobacco. A Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings Acquired Since 1942* has just come from press, bearing the imprint of the New York Public Library.

A frontispiece shows the handsome new, and enlarged, quarters of the Tobacco Collection. The illustrations, not distributed through the text as in the first *Catalogue* but collected at the end, consist of twenty-four plates, giving reproductions of one binding, one colophon, five sectional titles or illustrations, and thirty-one title pages. This is a generous proportion, but the generosity is well advised, for most of the forty-five titles described in Part I are rare. Miss Dickson does not attempt to provide a census of copies, but her helpful notes on the location of other copies indicate that No. 40, *De Landtwinninghe Ende Hoeue* (Antwerp, 1582) by Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault is apparently unique, as is No. 29, *L'Agriculture et Maison Rustique* (Paris, 1573) by the same authors. No. 21, André Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris, 1577), and No. 2, *Die New Welt* (Strassburg, 1534) by Amerigo Vespucci and Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, are extremely rare. And several other books appear to be the only copies in America. No. 26, Goes' *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon, 1566-67), another very rare item, has a unique title page to Part I and presents a bibliographical puzzle that as yet defies solution.

The rarity of the titles precludes extensive collation, but examination of copies in other libraries of eight or ten books shows that the collations and descriptions are dependable and the translated titles given with reasonable accuracy. A few typographical errors have been noted. In the transcript of the title of No. 18 (pp. 27-28), for example, "scription of" in line 8 should be italic, and "Plants:" in line 9 should be roman. In the note on No. 2, a reference is incorrectly printed as "iv^b-iv^a" (the collation of this item is given correctly in defiance of the statement in the register which seems to call for one gathering in 4's). And in the description of No. 21, "Piii^j2-b" should clearly be "Piii^ja-b." One may wonder why *nec sydera . . . habent* in the last line of the distich of No. 1 was translated *has* rather than *have*. But these are trifles. Should not the collation of No. 5 (p. 11) be given as A⁴ [A1, blank, wanting] B-Z⁸ Aa-Ss⁸? This is certainly suggested in the note on No. 6. There may be something more seriously wrong in the note on No. 19, Dodoens' *A New Herball* (London, 1595), which describes the book as "a reprint of [No. 18]; . . . the issue seems to be made up of the remainder sheets of the 1586 edition." The Folger Shake-

speare Library copy of No. 18, which may be exceptional, has at least sheets B-E, H, R, Aa, and Ss in a new setting of type, and a full collation might show that the text was reset throughout.

The Tobacco Library is a great institution, and Mr. Arents is rendering a very great public service in collecting and maintaining it. His catalogues are a delight to the eye and a treasure house of information. Continuations are eagerly awaited.

The Folger Shakespeare Library

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

Fifty Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts, with 84 color illustrations on 32 plates, 6 line engravings in the text, and 109 halftones on 52 plates. New York: H. P. Kraus [1958]. xii, 167 pp. \$30.00.

Although some reservations may be held about the propriety of reviewing a sale catalogue, the catalogue under consideration is a valuable if expensive contribution to the study of manuscripts. No small part of the value of *Fifty Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts* is the number and quality of colored reproductions of pages, openings, and fragments of pages. Added to this is a supplementary section of monochromatic reproductions, and the whole is backed up by a sincere, factual, reserved, even cautious, commentary prepared by the late Dr. Hans Nachod, to whom H. P. Kraus, the publisher, pays reverent tribute in the penultimate section.

The range of the catalogue is broader than the title indicates, beginning as it does with some sixth-century Coptic papyri and concluding with two manuscript atlases of the sixteenth century, the sumptuous gold-tooled binding of one of which is reproduced. The inclusion is nothing if not catholic; and in the large number of catalogues issued by H. P. Kraus (this is number 88), none has been more carefully prepared, more accurately and lavishly illustrated, or more expensively presented. Nevertheless, the statement made in the prospectus, that we are provided "with a valuable and stimulating reference work," is completely justified. The work is valuable, and although minor typographical errors are more numerous than errors of fact or conjecture, the sum of the picayune faults in no way invalidates its synoptic or original contributions to the study of manuscripts. It is probable that the initial, or sales, purpose will be overshadowed by the subsidiary qualities—model descriptions, a historical survey of a period of illumination and manuscript writing, a source of illustrations for lectures, or simply a pleasure to the eye.

The manuscripts included are not, naturally, of uniform quality, but their total quality is nothing short of remarkable, particularly since the whole cata-

logue describes only fifty manuscripts or fragments. It may be pointed out that the small number of items included is at the same time a handicap and a blessing; a greater number of manuscripts would no doubt have fleshed more completely the bones of the *précis*, but a greater inclusion would almost necessarily have decreased the minute examination of those examples described. The whole catalogue as a monograph (an assumption requested by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt in his introductory note) is a complete success, and as a survey of illumination and manuscript styles, is less a success but still a thing of scholarship and beauty that more than bears with it its own justification. It speaks well for enterprising and conscientious dealers that catalogues such as this can be prepared, and even though the cost may stand between its contents and the average collector, the cost should not prevent its acquisition by libraries and by those collectors who do not feel the compulsion to glance at a price list (available from the publisher upon request).

JOHN SYKES HARTIN

The University of Mississippi

GARDINER, C. HARVEY. *Prescott and His Publishers*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959. viii, 342 pp. 8 pp. of illus. \$5.95.

In many respects this is a unique book, since it cuts across several different disciplines and contains material of value to scholars in two or three fields. The student of American historiography, of intellectual America of the first half of the nineteenth century, the individual interested in publishing history or in the economic aspects of authorship or Anglo-American publishing relations will find data, leads, and clues not easily found elsewhere. This is certainly the outstanding work on Prescott to appear in the twentieth century, and one can but wait with pleasure Gardiner's bibliography of Prescott's works now in press and his forthcoming biography of the great American historian.

Gardiner has used in the preparation of this volume the manuscript collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Houghton Library, British Museum, University of Illinois, Huntington Library, and Library of Congress. Little, Brown & Co. and J. B. Lippincott hold copies of Prescott contracts, and these are among the documents reproduced in the appendices. The bibliography lists over 200 items and it is doubtful if Gardiner has missed much of value for his study.

The eight chapters of the book are: Prescott and the Slippery Trade, The Stereotype Plates, The Publishing Agreements, Copyright, Book Design—An Author's Rôle, Promotion and Distribution, The Financial Sheet, The Personal

Side. The appendices reproduce the texts of nine publishing agreements. Following the appendices are discussions of the manuscript depositories and bibliography, and the notes. The index is thorough and detailed.

The first chapter serves as the introduction and Gardiner outlines the general ideas that will be developed in the rest of the volume. It is his view that Prescott's ownership of the stereotype plates from which his six major titles were printed "lessened tensions, increased income, sped up later printings, and guaranteed an imposition of author standards on the publisher by virtue of their being manufactured prior to any agreement with a publisher, the stereotype plates were indicative of Prescott's interest in book manufacturing and harbinger of the complex publishing agreements to which he became a party" (p. 45). The longest chapter deals with the various terms of his publishing agreements. Prescott was published during his lifetime by four American and two British publishers. For almost two decades his British agent was Col. Thomas Aspinwall; in this country Prescott served as his own agent in dealing with publishers. These agreements were worked out in great detail and show Prescott's keen interest in every phase of the publication of his books. As his relations with his British publishers were more tedious, they receive more attention. "His agreements were in part an expression of his desire to put physically attractive as well as intellectually superior books before the reading public" (p. 100). Gardiner has found the facts to support his views that Prescott's economic nature was subordinate to his scholarly and artistic urges.

Prescott's views on international copyright are discussed in detail and one sees how the lack of international copyright affected the publication of his works. For instance, there were times when cheap and poorly printed editions were contemplated to prevent the pirating of his works in Great Britain. It may be that this chapter is the weakest of the eight in regard to the use of secondary and non-Prescott materials. The notes to this chapter reveal a heavy dependence on government documents; no mention is made of contemporary periodical articles (the *Index to Early American Periodicals* notes the existence of some fifty articles on international copyright) or of such later references as R. E. Spiller, "War with the Book Pirates," *Publisher's Weekly* CXXXII, 1736-38 (20 Oct. 1937), or M. Plant, *English Book Trade* (1939).

Prescott took a personal interest in the design of his volumes. He advised his publishers on type, binding, paper, illustrations, ink, maps, size, etc. Specifications for many of these things were written into his contracts, and his publishers accepted many of his ideas "because they sensed value in Prescott's book manufacturing ideas" (p. 165). Reviewers frequently commented on the physical characteristics of the published volumes. Chapter Six shows the promotion methods used by Prescott to secure advertising and reviews of his books in this coun-

try and abroad. The Financial Sheet is especially interesting, for too little is known concerning the money earned by American authors in the nineteenth century. Gardiner shows that Prescott's income from Bentley was £2,734/14/5 from 1838 to 1856, and that from 1843 to 1855 his income from Harper and Brothers was \$35,828.60. The last chapter is a personal, rather than a business, one and shows that besides being a shrewd businessman, Prescott could be warm, polite, and thoughtful in his relations with his publishers. He was considerate of them as individuals even while he was trying to obtain the best possible contract terms. Gardiner feels that "... since his books and their earnings were above average, his relations with his publishers were unique" and that "Prescott and his publishers contributed to a record of author-publisher relations which were relatively free of suspicions and fighting and recriminations" (pp. 279-80).

Prescott is Gardiner's hero, yet Gardiner lets the records speak for themselves. Occasionally, Prescott is accused of a "half-truth"; and he is shown meddling with his own agent in England, thus making his agent's task all the harder. It is worth noting that Gardiner deals only with Prescott's American and British publishers, for he had no control over the works that were published outside of this area or over translations of his works. A few more illustrations might have added to the reader's enjoyment of the printed text.

This volume may be highly recommended as a result of Gardiner's use of manuscript materials, the printing of the several publishing agreements, the style that combines readability with scholarship, and the attractiveness of the printed book as well as of the book jacket.

HENSLEY C. WOODBRIDGE

Murray State College

KYRISS, ERNST. *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*. 3. Tafelband. Stuttgart: Max Hettler Verlag, 1958. 157 pp. 108 plates. DM 70.

It is a great pleasure to be able to have before us on the table, with the publication of the third plate volume, all four volumes of Ernst Kyriß' amazing effort in the field of early stamped bindings. This work, singular in its scholarship, in the years required to compile it, and in its usefulness to students of binding and the history of printing, began publication in 1951 and has appeared volume by volume in the ensuing years. It is no easy task, however, to attempt to review the last of a four-volume work, each volume of which has received as many thorough reviews as have these. The excellent reviews by Lawrence S.

Thompson and E. Heyse Dummer in these PAPERS (vol. 46, 1952, pp. 284-85, and vol. 52, 1958, pp. 70-72) have already presented the outline, purposes, and outstanding importance of this work, all of which are only emphasized by this last volume.

By way of introduction for those who may not have seen the previous reviews or the published volumes, Dr. Kyriss has, during three decades, photographed and procured rubbings of over forty thousand bindings, among these some 25,000 Gothic bindings. By correlating the stamps used, he has been able to identify binderies, some in monasteries, some private, and some with unknown binder and place of activity. In the text volume he discusses each in turn and lists the volumes, by library and call number, which may be attributed to each. In the plate volumes he gives first a section of short paragraphs discussing again the binderies, then illustrates the work of each with rubbings of the most frequent or characteristic stamps, and a photo of a full cover.

In this final volume, the author has proceeded to treat, in the manner of the two previous *Tafelbände*, binderies number 128-86, those of the last section of his plan, "Werkstätten unbekannter Buchbinder mit unbekanntem Wohnsitz." Of these, three have been assigned a place of operation since the work began publication, but are kept in order here. Following the text discussion of the various binderies, the author in his summary for this volume points out that here are depicted 533 of the 1,573 various stamps which occur on the 3,065 bindings attributable to these binderies. The number of stamps attributable to individual binderies ranges between sixty-two for one bindery in Czechoslovakia to six for two South German shops. Kyriss has then provided a complete addendum to his bibliography of the text volume, including the addenda in the previous plate volumes, and likewise a complete résumé of addenda and corrigenda for the whole work. Four pages are devoted to a listing of new call numbers for many volumes cited in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

As if in answer to Holter's review of the first plate volume (*Antiquariat*, 1954, p. 188), Kyriss has undertaken to provide a rough index of the stamps depicted in the plate volumes. Thus a binding with a stamp which might be roughly described as "Adler—viereckig" may be compared with the reproduction of such a stamp in Plate 61. The arrangement of this index is slightly disorganized, but is intentionally so done in order to correspond with the arrangement of rubbings in Paul Schwenke's collection, now presumably at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

The "Hauptzusammenstellung" provides a summary of the total work: of the 14,420 bindings listed containing some 7,088 various stamps, 173 book covers and 1,707 stamps are reproduced in the plates. The greatest number of bindings identified from one shop was 828 for the Nürnberg Augustinian Mon-

astery, and in second place, 431 for the Cistercian Monastery in Heilbronn. The greatest number of stamps from one shop was 200 from the Nürnberg Dominican Monastery; the smallest, five from three different binderies.

A short name and subject index to the *Textband* concludes the text part of this volume.

Technically the volume is beautifully done. The type and paper are well chosen, and the plates are equal in quality, if not superior to those of the previous volumes. Perhaps because of the objections aroused by the use of some sixteen rubbings of bindings instead of photographs in the first volume of plates, only three rubbings appeared in the second volume and happily none in the third.

The only criticism that could be made of this publication is Hettler's practice of issuing all books unsewn, a practice which, it seems to me, should be modified to some extent. It is, no doubt, quite true that many book collectors with the necessary funds at their disposal would like to have a copy just as it comes from the folding machine, to have it hand-bound themselves. As a librarian I would suggest that there is a larger percentage of purchasers for whom the lack of any sewing or binding whatsoever is an annoying and unwelcome factor. In libraries this results variously in oversewing—a bad mistake in the case of plate volumes such as these—or in the work lying around for a number of years without any binding. In any case the cost of sewing and binding, negligible in edition production, will be added to the already high cost of the work. I would like to see Hettler make a postal-card survey of known purchasers of his publications to determine the relative demands for bound and unbound editions.

But, finally, with the author, we should re-emphasize the thanks due to Max Hettler for taking on, in spite of the difficulties of so many plates and such limited demand, the publication of a great work in the interest of furthering the study of the development of the book trade.

G. A. HARRER

Stanford University

RANDALL, DAVID A. *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads*. (The Indiana University Bookman, December 1958, Number 3.) Bloomington, 1958. 5-79 pp. and *Report of the Rare Book Librarian, Indiana University, July 1957-June 1958*. Bloomington, 1958. 19 pp.

It is emphatically written, nay, dogmatically stated in Holy Writ that one must not covet one's neighbor's possessions. In a like manner envy is considered to be one of the most deadly of the seven sins. To ask the curator of a small rare book department to review the annual report of a large, important rare book

department, is to put the soul of that curator into serious jeopardy. Who would not envy a neighbor who in the course of a year acquired a manuscript commentary on the Book of Leviticus done in England in the twelfth century, the *Biblia Bohemica* of 1488, manuscript letters of Lord Chesterfield, a collection of De Bry's "Small Voyages," and so on, and so on, including eighty-three Ernest Hemingway first editions?—(among the latter of which is a copy of *Death in the Afternoon* inscribed "to Gertrude Stein—a bitch is a bitch is a bitch is a bitch—from her pal Ernest Hemingway. Before the fruits of marriage came, marriage came").

But I am afraid that the soul of that curator has passed beyond jeopardy and does indeed covet Dave Randall's books and envy him their possession.

On the other hand it is very gratifying to know that more and more the truly fine books, the cream of man's thoughts, are becoming available in the Middle West, that no longer are the Clements and Newberry Libraries the lonely research collections between the great libraries of the east and west coasts.

A true witness to this wonderful development is Randall's delightful essay, "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads." This essay is divided into two parts. The first is a criticism of various lists of the one hundred most important books of one kind or another from that of Sir John Lubbock to those of Princeton University. Specifically Randall deals with the Grolier Club's *One Hundred Influential American Books* and *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature*; *The Great Books of the Western World*; A. E. Newton's *One Hundred Good Novels*; Princeton's *The Hundred Great English Books* and *One Hundred Notable American Books*; and finally W. L. Phelps' *One Hundred Best Novels*.

He discusses the relative ease and difficulty to be encountered by a library trying to obtain all the books in the various lists. Randall feels forty per cent of the books would be relatively simple to acquire, less easy to secure the next thirty-five per cent, and nothing but trouble and expense to obtain the remaining twenty-five per cent.

Also pointed out is the difficulty in getting the lists to agree on which edition should be collected. For example, do you collect Holmes' "Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever" as it first appeared in the *New England Quarterly Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, or do you collect it as it was first separately printed? Or suppose no copy is known of the true first edition, do you settle for the second edition or wait; as in the case of Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*?

Part of the problem, as Randall mentions, is that a book may not be very rare as to the number of copies known, but certainly scarce as to ready availability, such as the First Folio of Shakespeare. However, he does not counsel despair, but wants to make it quite clear that it is almost impossible to achieve 100 per

cent. Besides, Randall is preparing a list of One Hundred Influential Books—*not* on any other list of one hundred influential books.

The second part of this essay is a checklist of the holdings of Indiana based on the above-mentioned lists. Calculated generously to include a few periodical appearances as firsts, the holdings are: Grolier, English, 94; Grolier, American, 89; Princeton, English, 85; Princeton, American, 89; Phelps, 89; and Newton, 99. Naturally there is some duplication of titles on the lists, but the record of Indiana, thanks largely to the Lilly gift, is nonetheless, and as we remarked before, to be envied.

YEATMAN ANDERSON III

Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County

THE AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

LAURENCE WITTEN, a graduate of Williams College and of the Yale Music School, has been a rare book dealer in New Haven since 1951.

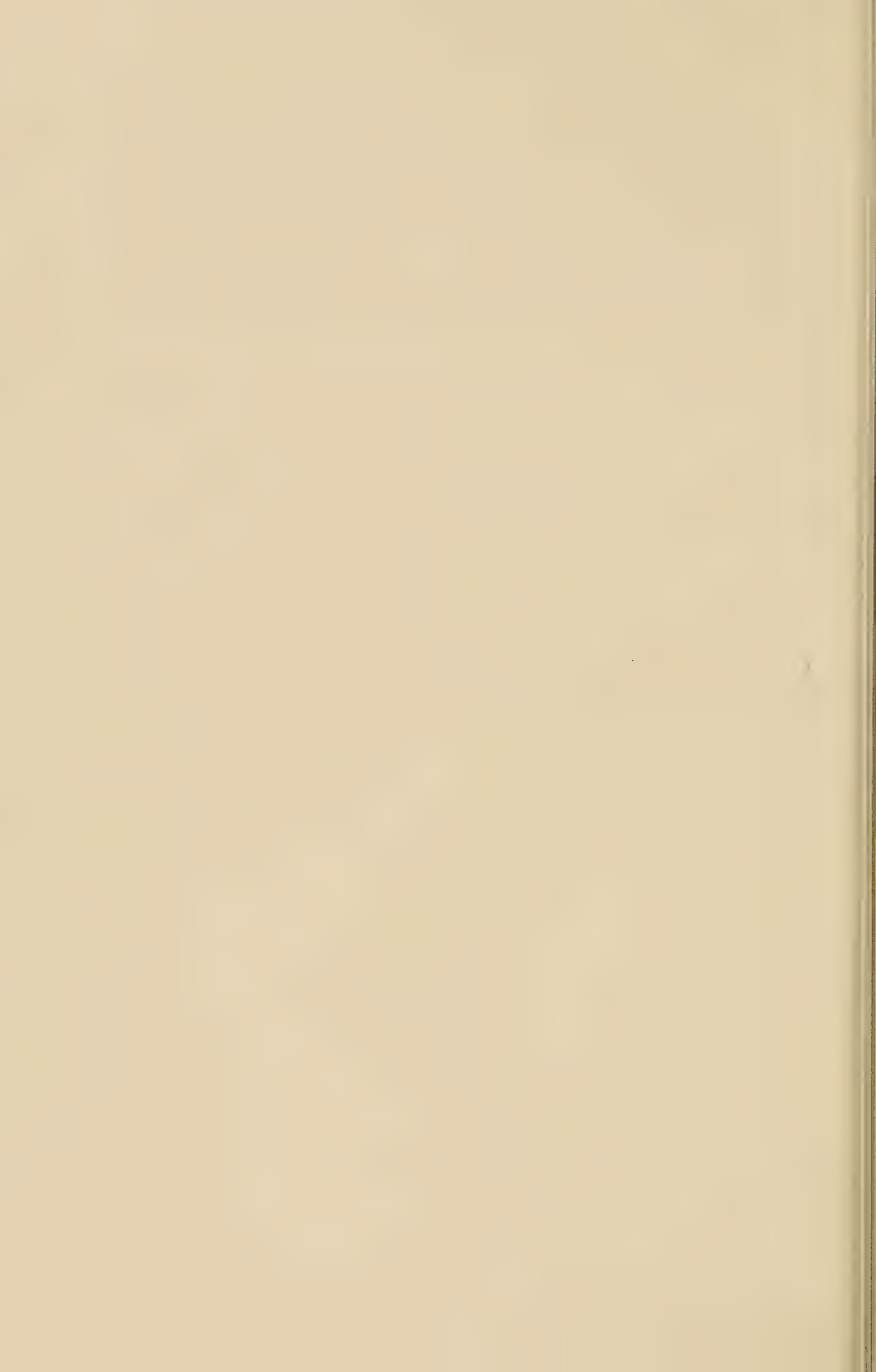
THE REV. MR. JOHN WARWICK MONTGOMERY is Librarian of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and Instructor in Theological Bibliography on the Federated Theological Faculty of the same university.

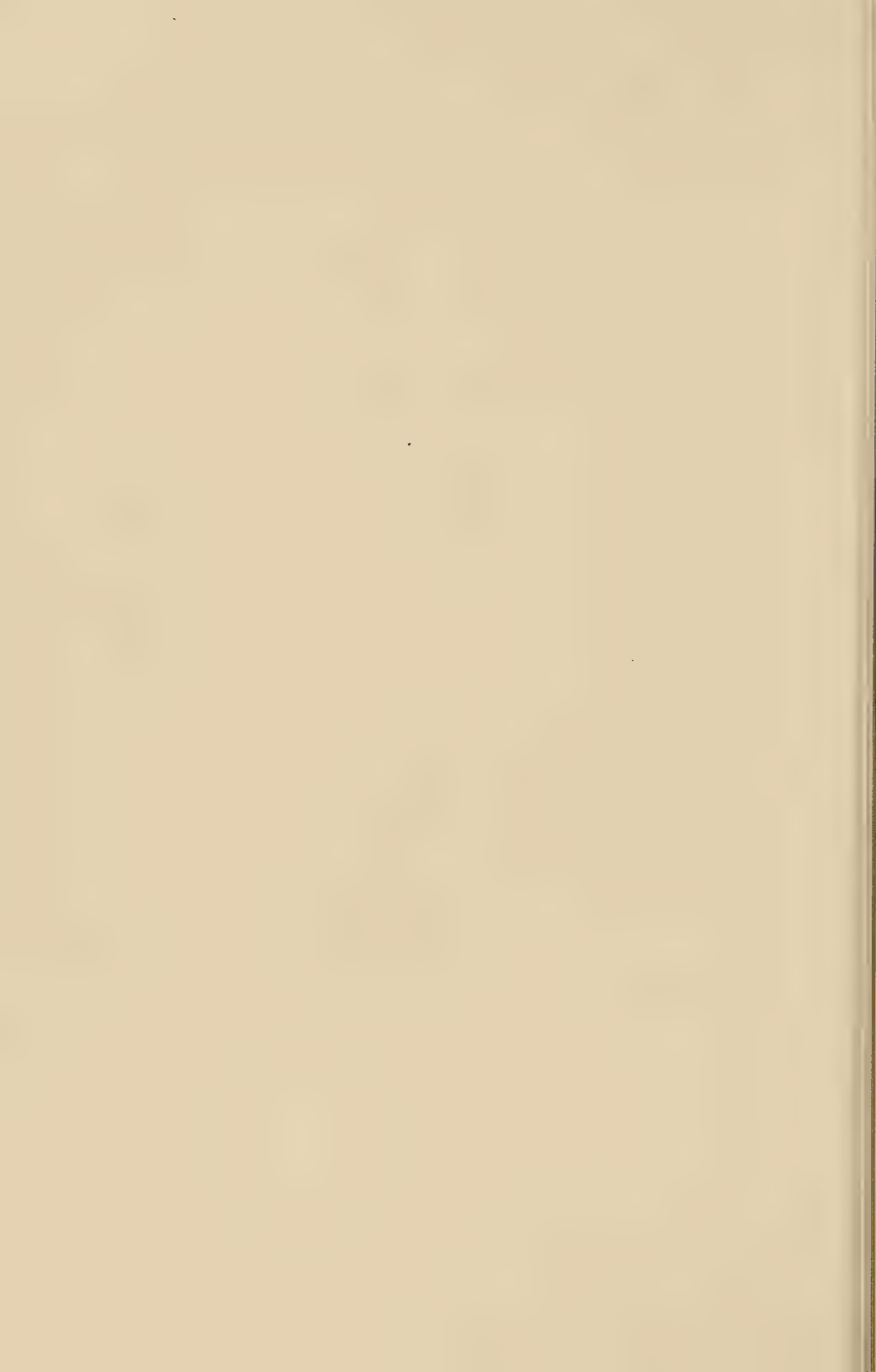
IRVING LOWENS is music critic on the staff of the Washington, D.C., *Evening Star and Sunday Star*; he has contributed many articles to the history of American music.

HEREWARD T. PRICE, who is now at work in the Folger Library on the Variorum Edition of *Titus Andronicus*, is Professor Emeritus of English at the University of Michigan. He has written widely on Elizabethan language and literature.

FRASER BRAGG DREW is Professor of English at the State University of New York College for Teachers in Buffalo.

DENNIS E. RHODES, a member of the Department of Printed Books in the British Museum, is the author of numerous bibliographical articles and notes; one of his particular fields of interest is Renaissance literature.







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